FBIS DAILY REPORT

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DPA NOTES 'RUMORS' OF SPECIAL PACT SUMMIT

LD191755 Hamburg DPA in German 1556 GMT 19 Nov 85

[Text] Prague, 19 Nov (DPA) -- Rumors were growing in Prague Tuesday [19 November] that a special Warsaw Pact summit is to take place Thursday in Prague. As has already been speculated in Geneva, Soviet party chief Mikhail Gorbachev might brief the members of the Warsaw Pact on the results of the Geneva negotiations with the United States.

The rumors were fueled in particular by the fact that, according to an official announcement, Prague Castle will be barred to all traffic on Thursday -- an action last noted in January 1983 at the Warsaw Pact summit in Prague. The Castle is the residence of the state president and the venue for CSSR Party congresses and East bloc summits.

REPORTAGE ON MOSCOW CEMA COMMITTEE MEETINGS

Weiz From GDR

LD181048 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1007 GMT 18 Nov 85

[Text] Moscow, 18 Nov (ADN) -- The extraordinary 117th session of the CEMA Executive Committee began in Moscow on 18 November. The GDR delegation is headed by Dr Herbert Weiz, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister of science and technology.

CSSR's Obzina Arrives

LD160038 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1900 GMT 15 Nov 85

[Text] A Czechoslovak delegation headed by Jaromir Obzina, federal vice premier and chairman of the State Commission for Scientific, Technical, and Investment Development, arrived in Moscow today to attend the 33d session of the CEMA committee for Scientific and Technical Cooperation. At the airport the delegation was welcomed by representatives of the Council [as heard] and by Miroslav Zavadil, the Czechoslovak ambassador to the Soviet Union.

USSR's Antonov Attending

LD162323 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1700 GMT 16 Nov 85

[Text] Aleksey Antonov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and permanent Soviet CEMA representative left for the Soviet Union today. In Prague, he led the Soviet delegation at the ninth session of representatives of the Czechoslovak and Soviet Governments for the realization of the cooperative program between the two countries for the development of the Czechoslovak nuclear power industry to 1990.

Report on Opening

LD170038 Prague CTK in English 1656 GMT 16 Nov 85

[Text] Moscow Nov 16 (CTK correspondent) -- The 33rd session of the CEMA Committee for Scientific and Technical Cooperation opened here today to discuss the speeding up of scientific and technical progress of the CEMA countries and development of their multilateral cooperation in priority scientific and technical spheres.

The Czechoslovak delegation is led by Deputy Premier and Chairman of the State Commission for Scientific-Technical Development and Investments Jaromir Obzina.

Draft Preparation Changes

LD200513 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 19 Nov 85

[Text] The CEMA Executive Committee session, concluded in Moscow today, discussed cooperation in priority areas of science and technology. In his report Jozsef Havel also tells us that the draft of the cooperation will be approved by the high-level consultation of the CEMA:

Last year at the CEMA summit meeting the leaders of the participating countries agreed that the complex program of the member countries' scientific-technological progress up to the turn of the millenium would have to be worked out. After this, CEMA's Scientific-Technical Committee prepared a draft for this complex program, which has now been adopted by the Executive Committee in the sense that it will submit it to the CEMA Council session taking place this year. The draft program ascribes a special place in scientific-technological development to electronization, robot technology, biotechnology, nuclear energy, the perfecting of new materials, and to computer technology. Its essential feature is that there will be a change in its preparations: Concepts will not be worked out in CEMA and then made obligatory for all the members. Instead, individual member countries will elaborate their own concepts and these will be coordinated within the CEMA framework.

SOCIALIST CONFERENCE ON MARXISM, RELIGION

AU141454 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian, 13 Nov 85 p 6

[MTI report: "International Conference in Debrecen by Researchers into Religion"]

[Text] On Tuesday [12 Nov] a 3-day international conference entitled "Marxism and the Religious Ideology" opened in the headquarters of the Debrecen Academic Committee. The conference was organized in the framework of research cooperation by the ministries of higher education in socialist countries. Participants are religious researchers in Bulgaria, the CSSR, Poland, Hungary, the GDR, and the Soviet Union. Barna Sarkadi-nagy, deputy chairman of the State Office for Church Affairs, attended the opening.

The two main conference lectures were delivered by Academician Jozsef Jukacs, director of the Philosophy Institute at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, on "Marxism and Religious Feeling"; and by University Lecturer Istvan Konya, director of the Philosophy Institute of the Lajos Kossuth University of Debrecen, on "Some Current Questions on Educating Students for Materialist Ideology." An additional 20 lectures were heard.

The conference stressed that Marxist researchers of religious philosophy analyze the roots and survival of religious feeling in connection with social changes. Instead of concentrating on providing information and addressing educational questions as previously, researchers will now explore the problem's special features comprehensively, approaching them theoretically and on the basis of sociological research.

LEADERS ATTEND GEOLOGY CONFERENCE, CELIKU SPEAKS

AU191134 Tirana ATA in English 0900 GMT 19 Nov 85

[Text] Tirana, November 19 (ATA) -- The 6th national conference on geology, organized by the Ministry of Industry and Mining, the Ministry of Energetics and the Ministry of Education and Culture began its proceedings in Tirana on November 18 before noon.

Attending were the member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the party and Minister of Industry and Mining, Comrade Hajredin Celiku; the alternate member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the party and vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers, Comrade Besnik Bekteshi; the secretary on the Central Committee of the party, Comrade Vanjgel Cerrava; the vice-president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Xhafer Spahiu; the Minister of Energetics, Lavdosh Hametaj; the Minister of Education and Culture, Tefta Cami; the president of the Academy of Sciences, Prof. Aleks Buda; the chairman of the Committee of Sciences and Technique, Ajet Ylli, and other comrades.

Comrade Hajredin Celiku made the speech on the occasion. He pointed out among the others the special and constant care of the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha personally for the creation and strengthening of the Albania geology, a base for the further development of different branches of the economy of the country. He spoke of the successes attained by the working people of geology in increasing the range of minerals and of the reserves as well as the efficiency of geological work.

In conclusion he said that the very precious instructions of Comrade Ramiz Alia at the Patos region party conference and at the innovaters' and rationalizers' conference of the District of Shkoder are an inexhaustible source of inspiration and mobilization for the geologists and oilmen.

The old scientific co-worker Minella Shallo read out the report "Geological Construction of the PSR of Albania, the Achievements and Problems of Regional Studies", while the Director of the Geological Department at the Ministry of Industry and Mining, Haki Caslli, read the report "Problems of the Further Growth of the Effectiveness of Geological Work".

In the afternoon the conference held its proceedings in the five sections, where two reports and many papers were read out.

CARCANI CONGRATULATES TANZANIAN PREMIER

AU091422 Tirana ATA in English 1000 GMT 9 Nov 85

[Text] Tirana, November 9 (ATA) -- The chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, Comrade Adil Carcani, sent the following message of greetings to the premier of the United Republic of Tanzania, Joseph Warioba:

"I learned with pleasure of the appointment of your excellency to the high post of the premier of the United Republic of Tanzania. I avail myself of the opportunity to convey to you the best wishes for successes in the new task and express my conviction that the friendly relations between our two peoples and countries will constantly develop in the future."

DAILIES COMMENT ON GENEVA SUMMIT PROSPECTS

AU192101 [Editorial Report] On 18 November 1985 several Bulgarian national dailies carry articles commenting on different aspects of the imminent Geneva summit meeting.

RABOTNICHESKO DELO carries three articles. On page 7 there is a 600-word article from the paper's correspondent Georgi Todorchev in New York entitled "The Pentagon's Salvo Against Geneva," which reports and comments on the leak of Secretary of Defense Weinberger's letter to President Reagan. Todorchev begins by commenting: "The expectation that Caspar Weinberger would make a 'last attempt' to obstruct 'at any price' a possible understanding between the United States and the USSR on arms control has been fulfilled." After detailing the contents of the letter, Todorchev charac- characterizes it as "one of the most scandalous documents in U.S. history," typical of "the anti-Soviet insinuations and actions which have been and are continuing to be spread by the ultra-conservative circles." Todorchev reviews some U.S. press comment on the letter, noting Reagan's own evident irritation with the disclosure as revealed by spokesman Larry Speakes' statement from on board Air Force One.

The second, 1000-word, article on pages 1 and 7, datelined Geneva 17 November, by "our special correspondent Yoan Mateev" asks in its title: "Will the United States Walk Its Half of the Road?" Mateev comments: "In order for the burning desire of all mankind to be fulfilled, it is absolutely necessary for the United States to follow the Soviet Union's example with a constructive, sincere, and most responsible attitude toward the cardinal problems of the present day." He notes a little later that "No one has received a clear reply." Mateev comments that Reagan must be seriously concerned by the disclosure of the Weinberger letter, which "MacFarlane acknowledged to be 'an extremely unfortunate incident.'" Mateev asks if the letter means that "a group in the administration hostile to any dialogue with the USSR is at the bottom of this affair?" He continues by listing individuals, such as Mrs. Kirkpatrick and Richard Perl, who may be hostile to progress in Geneva. Mateev's answer to his self-posed question is: "Evidently, up to this moment the leading team of the United States is not ready and does not wish to walk its half of the road toward a tangible improvement of Soviet-American relations and the world situation."

Finally, RABOTNICHESKO DELO carried on page 7 a 500-word report by BTA special correspondent Nencho Khranov on the Soviet press conference held in Geneva on 17 November. Khranov reiterates the main points of the Soviet disarmament proposals as set out by Colonel General Chervov, who according to Khranov, pointed out that the United States had not reacted constructively, but has continued further deployment of cruise and Pershing missiles in Western Europe. Khranov also mentions Col Gen Chervov's noting in reply to a question that reliable means existed now for monitoring nuclear explosions, permitting positive control of any nuclear agreement. Khranov also notes replies by other Soviet experts, notably Academician Velikhov's statement by other Soviet experts, notably Academician Velikhov's statement that the USSR was not "developing, testing, or deploying any weapons for space defense," Khranov finally notes that Georgi Arbatov, in reply to a question on the report that Gorbachev was not coming "with empty hands," said: "These reports should not be taken in the literal sense. We hope that President Reagan is not coming with empty hands either."

OTECHESTVEN FRONT of 18 November devotes all of pages 6 and 7 to the Geneva summit. Page 6 carries a 1,200-word article specially written for the daily by Nikolay Yefimov, IZVESTIYA first deputy chief editor, entitled "The Right To Live in Peace and Understanding," With the subheading: "History Has Presented a Chance Which Should Not Be Neglected."

Yefimov begins by contrasting Reagan's statement 5 years ago that it was impossible to negotiate with the godless Russians with his upcoming appearance at the Geneva negotiating table. Yefimov suggests that the United States has been forced to the Geneva summit by its NATO allies' concern with the growing international tension and by public opinion in the United States.

Yefimov continues by contrasting the U.S. and Soviet attitudes toward the summit: The West apparently does not expect any far-reaching results, while Moscow regards the meeting as "extremely business-like, concrete, and constructive."

Yefimov then compares the U.S. and Soviet actions prior to the summit. While the USSR has declared a unilateral nuclear test moratorium, Yefimov asserts that the United States has stepped up its nuclear tests. While the Soviets have tabled radical proposals at the Geneva disarmament talks, Yefimov notes, the United States is attempting to divert the Geneva summit agenda to discussing secondary issues, such as tension in different parts of the world and human rights.

Yefimov then compares the Soviet proposals for the peaceful use of space with the American refusal to give up its Strategic Defense Initiative program, as clearly evidenced by Caspar Weinberger's statements. Yefimov then discounts the latest Reagan proposal to cut ICBM nuclear warheads to 5,000 on each side as "hastily concocted" and a rehash of old proposals. Finally, Yefimov asserts that President Reagan's interview with Soviet journalists was illustrative of "the deep conviction reigning in the U.S. Administration that the whole of the rest of the world either is not informed of the real state of affairs, or has a short memory, or is bound to think the same way as the White House." Yefimov ends by noting: "But the talks will take place, even though we, as before, do not believe in life after the grave. They will be held. And this indicates certain positive changes in Washington, if this is not a trick on their part."

On page 7 OTECHESTVEN FRONT carries a 500-word article specially written for the daily by Spartak Beglov, NOVOSTI political observer, entitled "Will They Leave the Dead-End Street?" Beglov comments on the appeal to Gorbachev and Reagan by the World Council of Churches for establishment of a complete nuclear test ban and the prevention of the militarization of space. Beglov notes that this appeal "caught the American side furiously engaged with intensive rearmament" and with the development of prototype space weapons, whereas the Soviet side had already made constructive proposals along the lines suggested in the appeal. Beglov comments: "Under these conditions any plans and appeals for disarmament evoked in Washington an extremely strong feeling of irritation and a great striving with all its power to divert attention from the constructive Soviet proposals." This effort, Beglov claims, is illustrated by President Reagan's speech at the UN where, according to Beglov, "in the eyes of the world his statement set international relations back by at least 5 years," to the time when the newly appointed President based his foreign policy on the views of the ultra-right, eventually leading to the present tense international situation. Beglov claims that any form of arms limitation agreement "is unacceptable for Reagan's spiritual advisers and for the representatives of the military-industrial complex," who prefer to keep the Soviet Union in the position of an enemy. These are the real reasons, Beglov claims, why Reagan gave no constructive answer in his UN speech to the Soviet proposal to make the summit talks a base for achieving further agreements. Nonetheless, writes Beglov in conclusion, Moscow continues to appeal for a constructive U.S. approach to the summit.

NARODNA ARMIYA of 18 November carries on pages 1 and 4 a 1,400-word article by Lieutenant Colonel Engineer Lyubomir Mikhaylov entitled "A Time for Responsible Decisions." Mikhaylov looks at the Geneva summit in the context of "the duel of the two socioeconomic systems -- the worlds of socialism and capitalism." Mikhaylov points out that the two great powers differ in that the Soviet Union "does not commune with the world only from the viewpoint of its relations with the United States."

Mikhaylov notes that the Soviet approach to the summit was set out by Gorbachev in his interview with TIME magazine and in his speeches during his French visit. Mikhaylov sees the crucial question to be "whether both states are ready to recognize that there is no other way except to live together in peace and to change their modes of thinking and action from the course of war to that of peace."

Mikhaylov comments that the peaceful Soviet proposals have left Washington in confusion as to how to react, and suggests that those surrounding President Reagan began to fear that perhaps the President himself would be influenced by the USSR's "lucid and long-term proposals." Mikhaylov, in noting the attempts in Washington to belittle the Soviet proposals and the negative reactions of Weinberger and others, is most worried by President Reagan's statement on the need to negotiate from a position of strength.

Nevertheless, writes Mikhaylov, Washington was compelled to react, and did so by trying to divert the subject of the summit talks to secondary issues, as evidenced by Reagan's speech at the UN. In addition, notes Mikhaylov, Reagan "loudly announced new American proposals" at the end of October, which according to Mikhaylov contain nothing new, because they "foresee no change in the American position regarding Washington's space-based antimissile defense program." Mikhaylov ends by noting that though the differences are great between the USSR and the United States, "this does not mean that the maintenance of normal stable relations and even of good cooperation is impossible."

BULGARIA: VIDIN OKRUG RELATIONS WITH SFRY TERMED 'GOOD'

AU131522 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 12 Nov 85 p 2

[Text] Vidin, 11 November (RABOTNICHESKO DELO correspondent) -- The mutual relations between the Zajecar region of the SFRY and Vidin Okrug are traditionally good. Every year protocols are signed between the two for the expansion of the border exchange of goods, and for cultural, sporting, health, and other links. Only this year the goods turnover on one side is reaching more than 2 million leva. The two neighboring okrugs exchange the most varied goods, such as confectionery products, clothing, footwear, carpeting, electric domestic equipment, furniture, etc. The total number of these goods exceeds 130. Friendly links have been established by the "Georgi Dimitrov" economic combine, the cutting tools plant, the "Bor" furniture cooperative, the Dairy Combine, and others with similar enterprises in Zajecar, Bor, Negotin, and Knjazevac in the SFRY. We export milk and certain other goods, against which we receive nitrogen and phosphorus fertilizers, seeds, agricultural machines, and pedigree livestock.

Every year gatherings and meetings of Bulgarian-Yugoslavian friendship are arranged in Vidin and Bregovo to mark the two countries' national days. In addition, the drama theaters in Vidin and Zajecar exchange tours, and meets of football and other sports teams are arranged.

ANTI-SOVIET 'PROVOCATIONS' OF GENEVA GROUPS CITED

LD201417 Prague in Czech and Slovak to Europe 2230 GMT 19 Nov 85

[Text] The world looks toward Geneva with expectations and hopes for a concrete dialogue. Unfortunately, there also exist forces which are trying to misuse the talks for ruthless political provocations. Although these forces are in a minority in Geneva, they are making themselves heard. A number of emigres from socialist countries -- people who betrayed their homeland -- have come here. Three weeks ago, for example, a certain Irina Grivnina was given permission to emigrate from the Soviet Union. However, she arrived in Geneva already as correspondent of a Dutch newspaper. She made her debut as a journalist by her provocations, twice causing the interruption of press conferences of the Soviet delegation. This has nothing to do, however, with journalistic work. And thus it is only understandable that she had been stripped of her accreditation.

Zionists, too, see their changes for provocation in Geneva. The weekend issue of INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE carried in its advertising section a page-size lampoon about the alleged persecution of Soviet citizens of Jewish origin, addressed to Mikhail Gorbachev. The page was paid for by the Simon Wiesenthal center of Los Angeles. Then there was a provocative request from representatives of Jewish organizations to increase the quota for emigration of Soviet citizens of Jewish origin to Israel. The fact that these are coordinated actions has been confirmed by Israeli Prime Minister Shimon Peres. He said that only under this condition would Tel Aviv agree to the participation of the Soviet Union in the solution of Middle East problems. The extreme right is thus trying to muddy the waters in Geneva at any cost.

REAGAN-GORBACHEV MEETINGS, ACTIVITIES REPORTED

LD192151 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 19 Nov 85

[Report by special correspondent Bohumil Horak in Czech]

[Excerpts] The Soviet-American summit meeting opened today shortly after 10 a.m. at the Castle Fleur d'Eau at Lake Geneva with the private meeting of Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and Ronald Reagan, U.S. President. It was the first personal meeting of the two politicians and the first Soviet-American summit meeting after 6 and one-half years. The originally-planned 15 minutes extended into a full hour and observers here see this as proof of the fact that not only are both sides aware of the importance of the Geneva meeting, but that they also want to discuss all controversial issues in detail.

After this meeting the two sides started a plenary session in which participated, aside from Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan: on the Soviet side, Eduard Shevardnadze; Georgiy Korniyenko, first deputy foreign minister; Anatoliy Dobrynin, Soviet ambassador in the United States; Andrey Aleksandrov, adviser to the general secretary; and Leonid Zamyatin, head of the International Relations Department of the CPSU Central Committee, who also is fulfilling the function of Soviet spokesman here in Geneva. Present on the U.S. side were: George Shultz, secretary of state; Robert McFarlane, adviser to the President for national security affairs; Donald Regan, chief of the White House staff; Arthur Hartman, U.S. ambassador in the USSR, and Rozanne Ridgway, assistant secretary of state.

The morning talks ended at 12:45 p.m. On the agenda was the state of the Soviet-American relations and some aspects of world politics. The afternoon talks opened at 2:30 p.m. and continued until 4:30 p.m. Mikhail Gorbachev is giving a gala dinner at the Soviet mission in honor of U.S. President Reagan.

The general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee received a delegation of antiwar movements and organizations from the United States between the morning and afternoon meeting with President Reagan. The representatives of this delegation, in particular the U.S. senator [as heard] and former candidate for the presidency Jesse Jackson, handed over to Mikhail Gorbachev a petition signed by half a million Americans in which the signatories demand a freeze on nuclear armaments and appeal to the U.S. Administration to stop nuclear arms tests following the example of the USSR. Mikhail Gorbachev said in a discussion, among other things, that these demands are in agreement with the wishes of the Soviet people and that the Soviet delegation arrived in Geneva with the intention to do its best to halt feverish armament, improve relations between the USSR and the United States, and the overall situation in the world.

Leonid Zamyatin said that journalists would be informed only about who would be present at the deliberations and how long the talks took. At the end, the two sides would find a way to inform about the course and the results of the talks. This was confirmed at today's press conference also by White House spokesman Larry Speakes.

After the end of the first day of the Soviet-American summit meeting, no preliminary assessment or forecast could be made. The important thing will be to what extent a mutual constructive approach will prevail at the talks. The Soviet Union is determined to make use of the Geneva meeting for improving Soviet-American relations and for making the general situation in the world healthier. The Soviet side sees this as its main goal at these deliberations. If the United States responds in the same vein, it would only benefit the course.

'Historic' Character of Meeting

LD200005 Prague Television Service in Czech and Slovak 2100 GMT 19 Nov 85

[Excerpts] History has often walked the streets of Geneva. Today, too, the just-started meeting between the highest representatives of the USSR and the United States here in Geneva is described as historic. Naturally, this is not because it would be possible to reach an agreement on all issues of relations between the West and the East in 2 short days, but because [word indistinct] after the United States abandoned the policy of detente and started to follow the policy of confrontation a common political will should be displayed: not to try to change one another but to start to talk about concrete issues in the spirit of agreement and to seek agreement based on the principles of equality. It is particularly important because the world is at the abyss of a new absurd round of feverish armament which could take deadly weapons even into space.

Simply, the meeting which began today has a historic character because it is taking place at an important crossroads of world history. At the same time, it is providing a big opportunity to direct further development in a positive direction. Naturally, only future development will show whether the results of the Geneva conference themselves will be historic. And this will depend in particular on the position of the United States, because the USSR in the last few months has shown the whole world a sincere and concrete willingness to arrive at concrete agreements. Whatever the results of the Geneva conference, the world will not stop turning. But is also true that the unused opportunity would become a heavy burden on further development.

First-Day Dinner Exchange

LD192356 Prague Television Service in Czech and Slovak 2100 GMT 19 Nov 85

[Text] Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, gave a dinner at the Soviet mission today which was attended by U.S. President Ronald Reagan

with his wife and the members of the delegations of the two countries. At an improvised meeting with journalists before the beginning of the dinner this interview took place.

[Begin recording] [unidentified speaker] This is your assessment, replied Comrade Gorbachev to the question: What relations have been established between you, they seem good. Another question: Have you made any agreements? The work continues, said Comrade Gorbachev. You said today, it was during the lunch break, that space weapons would make the world a hostage. Does it mean that President Reagan -- Comrade Gorbachev interrupted the question: This is a question for the press conference, save it. If you answer it, I shall certainly ask it. Good, Comrade Gorbachev said. Why do you give so much time to the private meetings? Because we find it necessary and useful. And the final question was addressed to President Reagan: and what are you saying Mr President? We are smiling. [end recording]

Day One 'Satisfactory'

LD201025 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0830 GMT 20 Nov 85

[Correspondent Bohumil Horak report from Geneva]

[Text] On the 2d day of the Soviet-American summit, the talks between Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan will again start at 1000, but this time in the building of the Soviet mission, where the talks will also continue in the afternoon. Outside the building groups of journalists, above all photographers and cameramen, are already there on makeshift stands.

After the afternoon session Swiss President Kurt Furgler will give a cocktail reception for Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan at the La Gandole Castle near Geneva, and in the evening Mikhail Gorbachev will be President Reagan's guest at a dinner in his honor.

Because the talks are entirely confidential, the diplomatic and journalist sources limit themselves to reflections only. Yesterday's proceedings are viewed here as generally satisfactory, but it would be too early to draw any other conclusions from this. The fact that Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan spent much more time in private talks than originally planned is evidence of efforts to find a businesslike and constructive approach to the solution of controversial issues.

As was noted yesterday at a press conference by Leonid Zamyatin, the Soviet side's spokesman, the Soviet Union has never concealed the fact that for its part it is ready to do everything to achieve -- namely at the Geneva meeting -- concrete agreements which would contribute not only to the strengthening of the security and trust between the Soviet Union and the United States, but which would also enable a halt to the arms race and improve the international situation in the whole.

Gorbachev Hosts Day Two

LD201137 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1100 GMT 20 Nov 85

[Text] The second part of the Soviet-American summit started in Geneva today. Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, welcomed U.S. President Ronald Reagan in the building of the Soviet diplomatic mission before 1000. Both statesmen shook hands at the staircase, then walked up the stairs and smiled to photographers and television cameras.

In a brief conversation with journalists which followed inside the building, they refused to give any details about their talks so far. Mikhail Gorbachev called them "open, serious and constructive."

It is expected that the two representatives will be joined later by members of their entourages. The afternoon talks, according to the program, are to start in the building of the Soviet mission at 1430. A reception hosted in honor of both statesmen by Swiss President Kurt Furgler is to take place at La Gandole Castle at 1900. After that a festive dinner is to follow, given by Ronald Reagan in honor of Mikhail Gorbachev at the Maison de Saussure.

'Careful, Sober' Proceedings

LD201405 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1300 GMT 20 Nov 85

[Excerpts] Switzerland: Shortly after 1200, the morning round of the Soviet-American summit ended today in Geneva. Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and U.S. President Ronald Reagan talked first of all for over an hour face to face, and then were joined by members of their delegations.

As Larry Speakes, the U.S. side's spokesman said, Ronald Reagan called the discussion to date valuable. "Our differences are serious, Ronald Reagan said, but equally serious is our determination to improve understanding." Mikahail Gorbachev, according to the same source, characterized the talks so far as sincere, businesslike, and responsible. He stressed that both sides are proceeding carefully and soberly. Larry Speakes drew attention to the fact that both statesmen had had over 3 hours of face-to-face talks. He also announced that this morning the ministers of foreign affairs of both countries, Eduard Shevardnadze and George Shultz, met for informal talks. He refused to say whether the results of the summit will be announced today or tomorrow morning. The summit continues this afternoon.

BULGARIA'S KUBADINSKI PAYS OFFICIAL VISIT

Arrival in Prague

LD181334 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1100 GMT 17 Nov 85

[Text] An official delegation of the Bulgarian Fatherland Front led by Pencho Kubadinski, BCP Central Committee Politburo member, State Council member, and Fatherland Front National Council chairman, arrived in Prague today at the invitation of the National Front Central Committee.

The delegation was welcomed at Prague's Ruzyne Airport by Tomas Travnicek, National Front Central Committee Deputy chairman, and other officials.

Meets Husak

AU191917 Sofia BTA in English 1449 GMT 19 Nov 85

[Text] Prague, November 19 (BTA corr.) -- Mr Gustav Husak, secretary general of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and president of the Socialist Republic of Czechoslovakia, received Mr. Pencho Kubadinski, member of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP and chairman of the National Council of the Fatherland Front, who is paying an official visit to Czechoslovakia.

The cordial and friendly talks noted with satisfaction that Bulgaro-Czechoslovak relations are developing successfully in all spheres. The two sides stressed that the broadening and deepening of bilateral cooperation is in the interest of the peoples of the two countries and that they contribute to enhancing the unity of the countries of the socialist community.

Meets National Front Officials

LD190524 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1700 GMT 18 Nov 85

[Text] The delegations of the National Front of Czechoslovakia and the Fatherland Front of Bulgaria had talks at Valdstejn Palace in Prague this afternoon. They were headed by Tomas Travnicek, deputy chairman of the Central Committee of the National Front, and Pencho Kubadinski, Politburo member of the Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee, member of the Bulgarian State Council and chairman of the Fatherland Front of Bulgaria, respectively.

Tomas Travnicek briefed the guests on the current situation in Czechoslovakia, characterized by the effort of the entire society to fulfill the Seventh 5-Year Plan and by the development of labor initiative in honor of the 17th CPCZ Congress. He talked about the significant place, adopted in our political system by the National Front, about its international activity, and about preparation of new electoral programs and elections to representative bodies.

USSR'S ANTONOV ARRIVES FOR WORKING VISIT

LD142044 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1900 GMT 14 Nov 85

[Text] Aleksey Antonov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, arrived by air in Czechoslovakia today for a working visit. He was welcomed at the Ruzyne Airport by Deputy Federal Premier Ladislav Gerle and others.

Nuclear Agreement Signed

LD152349 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2030 GMT 15 Nov 85

[Text] The ninth session of government representatives of Czechoslovakia and the USSR for the realization of the nuclear power program between the two countries to develop the nuclear power industry in Czechoslovakia up to 1990 ended in Prague today.

Deputy Federal Prime Minister Ladislav Gerle and Deputy Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers Aleksey Antonov signed a document which evaluates the previous results of the developing mutual Czechoslovak-Soviet cooperation, whose particular significance rests above all in satisfying the needs of our national economy. The government representatives of the two countries assessed the course of construction of the third and fourth units of Dukovany nuclear power station, the design and construction of the nuclear power station in Mochovce and preparation of work on the construction of the nuclear power station in Temelin.

SUMMIT TALKS BEGIN IN 'GOOD ATMOSPHERE'

LD201034 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0202 GMT 20 Nov 85

[From the press review]

[Text] Berlin, 20 Nov (ADN) -- Reports on the start of the summit meeting between the leading representatives of the USSR and the United States, Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan, dominate the front pages to today's central press. "Gorbachev-Reagan Talks Began in Good Atmosphere" is the NEUES DEUTSCHLAND headline for its five-column report about the meeting between the leading representatives of the USSR and the United States, their personal talks, and the rounds of negotiations with the delegations.

The papers report in detail about the composition of the delegations as well as on the day's events and the statements by both sides' official spokesmen. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND also prints on its front page news about the interest of British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and French President Francois Mitterrand in the successful course of the summit meeting, and about the statement by Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi that nations are hoping for a message of peace from Geneva.

CC SESSION POSTPONEMENT LINKED TO PRAGUE SUMMIT

AU201314 Paris AFP in English 1307 GMT 30 Nov 85

[Excerpts] Berlin, Nov 20 (AFP) -- An Eastern bloc economic summit will probably be held in Prague at the end of the week, following Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev's meeting with U.S. President Ronald Reagan in Geneva, Western diplomatic sources said in East Berlin today.

Well informed diplomatic sources here said this was the reason for the postponement of an East German Communist Party Central Committee meeting scheduled for November 21-22 to the end of next week.

The sources said that Mr. Gorbachev would use the meeting to brief other Eastern bloc leaders of the results of his meeting with Mr. Reagan.

FELFE, FINDEIS 'EXPECTED' TO VIST FRG 26 NOV

LD191033 Hamburg DPA in German 1006 GMT 19 Nov 85

[Text] Bonn, 19 Nov (DPA) -- SED Politburo member Werner Felfe, agriculture secretary at the Central Committee, is expected for a 3-day visit next Tuesday [26 November] in the Federal Republic. The Federal Agriculture Ministry announced today that he will be meeting with Agriculture Minister Ignaz Kiechle (CSU) and with Wolfgang Schaeuble (CDU), head of the Federal Chancellery for talks on Thursday [28 November] in Bonn.

Felfe, who is also a member of the GDR Council of State, will also visit the "Agri-technical" exhibition in Frankfurt-am-Main at the invitation of the German Agricultural Society. Talks are also planned with leading representatives of the lower House groups, and with Constantin Freiherr von Heereman, president of the German Farmers Association. Felfe will be accompanied by Peter Findeis, GDR deputy minister of agriculture, and the chairman of the Central Executive of the GDR Peasants' Mutual Aid Association.

LAFONTAINE QUESTIONED ON VISIT, HONECKER TALK

DW151317 Cologne Deutschlandfunk Network in German 0546 14 Nov 85

[Interview with Saarland Minister President Oskar Lafontaine by correspondent Kleinschmidt in East Berlin -- recorded]

[Excerpts] [Kleinschmidt] You talked to Honecker for 2 hours. What was the result?

[Lafontaine] We discussed the further development of relations between the Saarland and the GDR. Involved are cultural exchanges, sports, and economic relations. We achieved a number of results, such as economic contracts, agreements on sports, youth meetings and theater exchanges. In other words, the first day was very successful. In addition, we discussed intra-German issues, especially relaxing travel restrictions. I was satisfied with the talk because I clearly realized that what Honecker said to Brandt and Jochen Vogel, is being implemented.

[Kleinschmidt] It involves particularly urgent family business. Can you provide some details about the persons involved?

[Lafontaine] I do not want to say anything specific. We must keep in mind that it touches on negotiations between the FRG and the GDR. It is our task to support the negotiations. Therefore, I do not consider it advisable to go into detail.

[Kleinschmidt] Did Honecker assure you that the tendency is positive?

[Lafontaine] One can answer that in the affirmative by looking at the figures of the last months.

[Kleinschmidt] Are they ADN figures?

[Lafontaine] Our ability to confirm the travel is limited. If one really and seriously wants to achieve detente and cooperation, one must have some confidence -- it would not work without it.

[Kleinschmidt] Do you expect a visit of the State Council chairman to Saarland this year?

[Lafontaine] I have been asked that question repeatedly. I want to ask all who are involved and interested, not to burden such a visit with unnecessary speculation.

[Kleinschmidt] You would not rule out such a visit?

[Lafontaine] I have always said that the invitation extended to Honecker to visit the FRG -- Helmut Schmidt extended it and you know what has happened in the meantime -- naturally is valid for the Saarland, regarding Honecker, because he was born in the Saarland. It would be incredible if he visited the FRG and not his home town.

[Kleinschmidt] From this I conclude that Honecker indicated in talking to you again some sentimentality with regard to the old homeland.

[Lafontaine] I think that everybody has that sentimentality regarding the old homeland.

[Kleinschmidt] Youth exchanges are supposed to be extended. Can you name figures?

[Lafontaine] No, it would not get us anywhere if we said that the last time it was so and so much and now there are so and so many more. However, we will create a broad basis for youth exchanges which are already working in the Saarland. It has worked smoothly in the past.

[Kleinschmidt] You are known to be an SPD advocate of disarmament. To what extent is there similarity or contradiction between your opinion and that of the GDR regarding a chemical weapons-free zone, a nuclear weapons-free zone, and SDI [Strategic Defense Initiative]?

[Lafontaine] The GDR leadership obviously wants to contribute to disarmament. My opinion is different from the currently applied method insofar as I was always of the opinion that the attempt and a method to create a balance in quantity and quality is most difficult and, therefore, mainly condemned to failure. I can formulate my different opinion as follows: It does not make sense to link your armament with that of the other side. One can achieve disarmament only if one begins to do it oneself. That applies to both sides.

[Kleinschmidt] The Gera demands were a subject of your talks. What was the position of the GDR in matters of citizenship?

[Lafontaine] The GDR position has been known for a long time. We discussed how it would be possible to achieve normal travel far into the future. The general secretary said that the citizenship problem naturally plays a role, and that recognition of citizenship is a prerequisite for the travel of GDR citizens to other states. I can say for myself that such substantiation makes sense to me.

[Kleinschmidt] How about the other points, such as the Elbe border, Salzgitter, and permanent representation?

[Lafontaine] I discussed those points in earlier talks with Honecker, but we did not discuss them this time.

[Kleinschmidt] Let me bring up the citizenship issue once more. It is a GDR demand that will be most difficult to fulfill for the FRG because of the basic law. Would that mean that normal travel will be impossible?

[Lafontaine] I am not authorized to speak on behalf of the GDR. I can only discuss the subject as such. As we have had a state that has been recognized worldwide as a state, I do not understand how the passport problem can continue to be a basic question.

[Kleinschmidt] What are your basic impressions of the GDR and your expectations for the next days?

[Lafontaine] I have the impression that the GDR leadership tries hard to achieve progress in intra-German dialogue. I know about the difficulties because every partial state is engaged in an alliance system. Nevertheless I am optimistic about the coming months, because the talks have shown that if one is content to take small steps without looking for spectacular events, one can make solid headway.

ECONOMIC TRADE PROTOCOL SIGNED WITH SFRY

LD151703 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1315 GMT 15 Nov 85

[Text] Berlin, 15 Nov (ADN) -- On 15 November the GDR and the SFRY agreed on the coordination of their economic plans up to 1990. A corresponding protocol was signed in Berlin; it bears the signatures of Gerhard Schuerer, chairman of the State Planning Committee, and Borisav Srebric, vice president of the Federal Executive Council. The document provides for the expansion of the existing level of economic relations on a long-term basis for the period 1986-1990. Agreements on joint ventures in third markets were also reached.

The trade in raw materials and equipment is to continue. The GDR will import, among other things, aluminium, copper, titanium, oxide, and zinc, supply potash, chemical products and pharmaceutical raw materials. The SFRY will import, among other things, mining equipment and freighters and will supply the GDR with machine tools and building machinery.

They agreed to work out a long-term trade agreement for the period up to 1990 on the basis of the Berlin protocol.

CITIZEN ESCAPES INTO AUSTRIA THROUGH CSSR

LD171347 Hamburg DPA in German 1119 GMT 17 Nov 85

[Text] Vienna, 17 Nov (DPA) -- A GDR woman escaped on Saturday night [16 November] to Austria, the Austrian border police reported today in Vienna.

The 28-year-old woman and her Turkish boy friend, who lives in West Berlin, hid in a furniture van in East Berlin. The driver, who knew of the escape, brought the couple, who want to settle in the Federal Republic, through the CSSR into Austria.

HERRMANN SEES POLISH DEMOCRATIC PARTY CHAIRMAN

DW180808 East Berlin Television Service in German 1830 GMT 15 Nov 85

[Text] Joachim Herrmann, SED Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, and Tadeusz Witold Mylnczak, chairman of the Central Committee of the PPR Democratic Party, today emphasized the determination of the GDR and the PPR to strengthen their work for detente and peaceful coexistence in Europe by means of active dialogue and cooperation. Joachim Herrmann praised the contributions of the friendly parties representing all social forces united in the National Front for the enterprising preparations for the 11th SED Party Congress. Tadeusz Mylnczak reported on further progress in building socialism and the closely related work of the Democratic Party. Manfred Gerlach, chairman of the Liberal Democratic Party of Germany, also took part in the exchange of views.

TISCH TELLS TU'S TO INCREASE COMMITMENT TO PEACE

LD182129 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1507 GMT 18 Nov 85

[Text] Potsdam 18 Nov (ADN) -- The GDR trade unions are prepared to cooperate with all trade unions in the interest of peace and freedom for the oppressed peoples, and of social progress irrespective of ideological differences, differing orientation or membership in international organizations. This was affirmed on Monday [18 November] by Harry Tisch, chairman of the FDGB National Executive, who was speaking to functionaries of his association in Ferch (Potsdam Bezirk). In the current tense international situation the worldwide trade union movement was called upon more than ever before to increase its commitment to disarmament and peace.

Harry Tisch stressed the great importance of the Geneva summit meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan, to which were linked many hopes and expectations by the peoples.

SUMMIT BEGINNING CHARACTERIZED BY 'GOOD START'

LD192154 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 19 Nov 85

[Special correspondent Istvan Kulcsar report from Geneva]

[Excerpts] Departing from the planned program, Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan had two private discussions. Although there are no details available, several signs, hints, and remarks lead one to conclude that the summit meeting has had a good start. The first handshake between President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev was immortalized by photographers at 1001 this morning outside the Villa Fleur d'Eau on Lake Geneva, which has been hired by the U.S. side. In a reply to a journalist's question on how he appraised the summit meeting, Mikhail Gorbachev said the following: We attach great significance to it, since the two countries are mutually interdependent, and we realize that we can not ignore our own and other peoples' interests.

After this the two leaders privately exchanged views accompanied only by their interpreters. Simultaneously, in a neighboring room, a consultation was held by members of the delegations of the general secretary and the President. On the Soviet side those present were Foreign Minister Shevardnadze, his first deputy Korniyenko, Washington Ambassador Dobrynin, the general secretary's adviser Aleksandrov, as well as Central Committee department heads Yakovlev and Zamyatin. On the U.S. side were Secretary of State Shultz, Chief of the White House Staff Regan, Chief National Security Adviser McFarlane, Moscow Ambassador Hartmann, and Deputy Secretary of State Mrs. Ridgeway. At the discussion it was decided, and later it was approved by the general secretary and the President, that neither side will give substantive briefings about the summit meeting until its conclusion; at that time, however, they will inform public opinion either separately or together. U.S. spokesman Larry Speakes later explained this news blackout, as journalists have called it, by saying that it is necessary because of the seriousness of the discussions. Several observers assessed this blackout as a promising sign.

As a matter of fact, Gorbachev and Reagan's first private meeting lasted 1 hour and 4 minutes with simultaneous interpretation, whereas originally it had been planned to last only 15 minutes. General Secretary Gorbachev himself said that this was a good sign. Later, Soviet spokesman Zamyatin said that he is convinced that both sides are taking steps so that the meeting will conclude on a positive note.

During the second half of the morning, after the private exchange of views, Gorbachev and Reagan, together with their colleagues, continued the discussions for almost an hour -- this time not by the fireside but at a round table. The Soviet spokesman, faithful to the agreement of the parties, disclosed only that the topics were bilateral relations and a few aspects of world politics. We will hardly be able to learn further reliable details beyond this because, as the U.S. spokesman remarked, those who take part in the discussions do not speak, and those who speak were not at the discussions.

During the lunch break, General Secretary Gorbachev received a delegation of U.S. peace champions, headed by Jesse Jackson, progressive politician and civil rights leader, who is making a stand for a freeze of the big powers' nuclear arsenals. Gorbachev acquainted the delegation with the Soviet Union's affirmative stance in this area of concern.

The afternoon session, judging by the fact that on the U.S. side, in place of Mrs. Ridgeway, it was disarmament adviser (?Nitze) who participated, dealt with the issues of arms control and lasted 1 hour. Afterwards, departing from the original plan, Reagan invited Gorbachev for a walk. The two leaders went down to Lake Geneva and in a lakeside house held a further 54-minute private discussion. They did not divulge its topic. The U.S. spokesman described the mood as good.

Tonight the Gorbachev couple, in Soviet compound in Geneva, will host a dinner in honor of Mr. and Mrs. Reagan. Their delegations will also be present. The dinner will be not so much a social event or one of protocol, but rather a political one, as it is a continuation of the discussions. From Soviet spokesman Zamyatin we received the news that there will be no official toasts; or at any rate Gorbachev does not intend to deliver a previously prepared toast.

JUHAR ANSWERS DOMESTIC ECONOMIC QUESTIONS

LD191924 [Editorial Report] Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian at 1815 GMT on 18 November 1985 carries the 90-minute "Radio Diary" phone-in program, in which Domestic Trade Minister Zoltan Juhar answers listeners' questions about the economy. The questions and answers are interspersed with reports from various retail outlets.

The first issue is that of construction materials. Juhar says that there is an adequate supply of such materials, compared to previous years when corruption was rampant in this sector.

Next, Juhar answers a question about coal supplies. He says that the situation has improved in the past 2 months but remains unsatisfactory. Disruptions are being caused by people hoarding coal in anticipation of a coal shortage such as the one during last year's severe winter. The coal-mining sector had caught up with this year's backlog by 15 November and 500,000 tons of coal more than originally planned are to be imported this year. Juhar says that people should relax, there is enough coal, even if some retail outlets are completely empty, although people are not likely to get the type of coal they want.

Juhar then moves on to tourism. Despite a slow start at the beginning of the year, he says, the income derived from tourism will increase by 6-7 percent over last year's figure and is expected to yield $280-285 million in 1985. Juhar notes that some 5 million Hungarians will travel abroad this year, being provided with about $120 million in convertible currency.

Juhar also discusses the bread shortage in Budapest on the eve of the 7 November celebrations, the supply of fruit and vegetables, supervision of domestic trade, and the financial and labor situation in the retail sector.

TRADE VOLUME EXPANSION ENVISAGED WITH SFRY

LD191540 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1300 GMT 19 Nov 85

[Text] The volume of goods exchanged between Hungary and Yugoslavia will increase by approximately 50 percent in the coming 5-year plan period in comparison with the last 5 years. The agreement that has now been signed in Belgrade envisages a turnover of 5 billion dollars. Roughly half of this will be provided by industrial product cooperation schemes and by long-term cooperation between various sectors of the two countries. Cooperation will be expanded primarily in the manufacture of fertilizers and in other areas of the chemical industry, as well as in the manufacture of trucks and passenger cars.

DECLINE NOTED IN ROMANIAN POWER STATIONS' OUTPUT

LD191244 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 19 Nov 85

[Text] We received news this morning that winter has arrived in Romania. The front-page news in Romania again is the problem of energy supplies at the onset of the severe winter. Output has fallen at several power stations as a result of a shortage of spare parts, MTI reports.

'STRICTER' COMPANY TAX INDICES PLANNED FOR 1986

LD191117 Budapest MTI in English 1023 GMT 19 Nov 85

[Text] Budapest, November 19 (MTI) -- Next year the tax conditions of the Hungarian companies will become even stricter. Although no significant changes are envisaged in the economic regulators, in general the tax indices will rise. The most important factor is that the profit tax will rise from 35 percent to 40. Economic management would like to be more powerful in holding back inflation, which this year stands at about 7 per cent. Therefore, companies will face far stricter rules if they intend to raise wages. In general preferences and exceptions within the regulators are to be reduced, while a number of areas, e.g. in investments resulting in exports, housing construction and improving commercial facilities in small settlements, companies are to receive incentives through tax concessions.

Up till 1968 national economic plans in Hungary were broken down to enterprise level. Since the introduction of the new system of economic control and management efforts have been made to implement national plans through economic means, while plan indices compulsory for the enterprises were eliminated. Of course, the system of indirect economic regulation in not perfect, all the more so as genuine market conditions have developed only in a few areas. For this reason the regulators have often to be adjusted, sometimes even during the year for which the enterprises complain saying they are unable to plan or operate their economies for any longer period of time ahead. However, the government is justified in pointing out that the conditions of economic operation of the country are in a period of constant change and enterprises cannot live in the laboratory. (In the 1970s the significant increases in the prices of imported materials and energy were 'held back', compensated for, from the state budget giving the enterprises unearned profits while the country went into debt. At the end of the 1970s it was realized that this was not the way to do things since the companies had to directly feel changes in external circumstances.)

The economic regulators of next year reflect the harder than expected situation of the country. Production and export plans have not met the objectives. The balance of hard currency trade was 500 million dollars under last year's in the first three quarters of the year.

From 1986 on export-generating investments will enjoy significant tax concessions. (Investments in Hungary are generally restricted by an accumulation tax, which next year is to decline from a general level of 18 per cent to 15, though the tax on investments resulting in exports is only to be 8 per cent.) In order to liven up the economy loads in other areas are being reduced. For instance, as for next year there will be tax preferences to support the establishment of trading houses, and loans of machinery from one company to another.

Wage regulations will be far more stringent. As against the 7.5-8 per cent rise in average earnings of this year, plans call for only 5-5.5 per cent. To increase the wages of their workers the enterprises will have to produce far higher profits amidst hard taxation conditions. An increase in average earnings that exceeds 10 per cent is to be burdened by a 500 per cent tax. This means that the companies will be forced to differentiate to a greater extent among their own workers inside the companies, if they want to give proper incentives towards better work.

INDUSTRIAL OFFICIAL ON ENTERPRISE MANAGEMENT

AU070950 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 31 Oct 85 p 5

[Part two of interview with Sandar Major, director of main department of Personnel and Education in Ministry of Industry, by Nandor Boynar entitled: "Changing Structures, Changing Managers (II) -- When The Boss Is Elected" -- first two paragraphs are paper's introduction; for part one see page F5 of the 8 November 1985 Eastern Europe DAILY REPORT]

[Text] Last year was the beginning of a trial run. Electoral committees were formed by the trade union stewards' delegates at the Glovita Gloves Factory in Gyor and by the Budalakk enterprise in Ujpest. Some of the minor aspects of disorganization were noticeable even to outsiders: The method of campaigning was not properly worked out: For example, the unequal the chances of external and internal delegates, the interview committees' scope of authority, and various other problems were not addressed.

Timid Campaigners

We asked Sandor Major, head of the main department of Personnel and Education in the Ministry of Industry, the following question:

[Question] What consequences did the ministry draw from all this?

[Answer] Already in 1983, we worked out the system of selecting people for leading positions, and in the course of this activity we also determined the exact tasks and rights of the review committees. The committees' suggestions concerning a candidate were based on studying the applications and on discussions with the applicants, as well as on the information gathered at the previous place of employment of the candidates who were considered suitable for a position. It is the committee's duty to decide in each case. The changeover to the new forms of management started this year. The sole purpose of the exercise was to gain experience and test the operational mechanism of selection. In the course of this, some of the problems mentioned in the question have indeed arisen, such as the relative chances of the external, and internal candidates. In the case of the Budalakk paint and artificial wax factory, for example, both the review committee and leaders in the Ministry of Industry recommended the election of the external candidate, although they also considered the internal candidate acceptable. The collective, however, decided in favor of the internal candidate. It seems that in smaller cases the electing bodies have also placed greater confidence in an internal, obviously suitable person than in outsiders. The reason is clear. The people in a firm are well aware of the good and bad qualities of the internal candidate, while they cannot have a clear opinion of an outsider. Of course, it would be farfetched to draw any conclusion from one particular case, but this phenomenon must be considered in the future. Actually, in the case of candidates for the position of director, 60 percent of the appointments consisted of internal and 40 percent of external candidates.

[Question] Since then, have the best campaign methods been found for introducing and promoting the candidates?

[Answer] The campaign method for choosing directors has not as yet been defined clearly, and this does not apply only to the cases of Budalakk and Glovita. A majority of the leaders, because of some kind of misapplied modesty, did not solicit votes on their own behalf, and it actually happened that a person even refrained from voting. The director should in fact get to know the members of the electing community and the delegates before the election, offer his cooperation, etc. On the other hand, leaders of party and social organizations should expound their views about the director to the party members and the elected functionaries and should express their views concerning the decisions. Such well-intentioned campaigning may help to push subjective feelings into the background and to bring about a well-founded decision. However, the preliminary elections have proved that the community is prepared and able to decide who will be trusted and elected as a leader.

[Question] There were cases where some big names got through easily, while in other cases after the election signatures were collected to try to prove that the enterprise council elected by the employees did not properly represent the will of majority. What is the reason for this: improper preparation or lack of democratic procedures?

[Answer] By 1 October, 84 enterprises had changed over to a new form of management. In six of these cases the incumbent director was not reelected. Based on the fact that a positive election requires a two-thirds majority by a secret ballot, the objective aspects of discharging a director cannot be denied. According to our experience, the reasons for non-reelection can stem from various origins. For example, the reason may lie in poor preparatory work and careless and superficial activity by the nominating committee. It may also happen that social organizations do not fully utilize the opportunities at their disposal for agitation and persuasion. At still other places the after-effects of earlier structural changes, such as the fusion of two enterprises, were not properly evaluated, or perhaps there were hidden personal differences, or in some cases the delegates were not chosen carefully. At three enterprises the workers collected signatures in support of the director, because they thought that their opinion was not reflected by the delegates. We think that these problems must be solved at the enterprise and that if the objections are well-founded, the workers may recall the delegates. At 78 enterprises the new management boards confirmed the directors in their position. Among these confirmed leaders we find both directors of big enterprises and leaders of small firms with about 100 employees. We think that these results clearly show the employees' trust in their leaders.

What Happens To Those Who Leave?

[Question] In a lot of places the directors were appointed by the minister, but the minister's right of appointment will now be revoked at the majority of the enterprises. What will happen to the affected leaders? When handing over the ownership rights, will the ministry also "hand over" these people to the enterprise councils?

[Answer] With the introduction of new management forms, the new management boards will also be given employment rights over the position of director. In the future, the founding body, which in the case of enterprises means the head of the ministry, will have only the right of preliminary consent regarding the appointment and discharge of directors. This means that if the head of the founding entity does not agree to someone, this person cannot be elected by the management bodies.

[Question] Let me ask a few other questions that are frequently asked by leaders and by members of the enterprise councils. Should the extra duties carried out in the enterprise council not be additionally paid for? Was perhaps making the chairman of the enterprise council exempt from other duties for the period of appointment ever considered?

[Answer] It would not be practical to render financial acknowledgement of the duties carried out in the enterprise council if the duties only involve attendance at and preparations for the meeting. Based on the law, it is not possible to give "extra pay" as referred to in the question. However, the stipulations of the law permit a member of the enterprise council who is exempted from regular duties while attending to council business, to still receive the average pay due to the position. However, no further renumeration may be paid. It is a different matter if a member of the enterprise council personally takes part in the preparation of some specific material concerning a decision. In such a case that person may receive a special bonus or reward customary at the particular enterprise.

[Question] Should the discharged director not receive a particular monetary sum to alleviate financial difficulties after his withdrawal?

[Answer] Executive decree No 35/1985 deals with the situation of non-reelected directors. According to this, a director who is not reelected and does not retire may receive in a lump sum for not more than 6 months the difference between the salaries paid for the old and new positions. If he finds employment on his own, he may receive a benefit equal to 6 months average salary.

Something Happened

[Question] To summarize all this, what experiences were gained from the applications that were received when the positions were advertised?

[Answer] The ministry started filling director-level positions on the basis of applications in 1983. Hitherto almost 30 directors have been appointed on the basis of applications. Our experience shows that the average number of applicants was around 15 following our advertisements and the extreme figures were 2 and 25.

In each case we formed a review committee to evaluate the applications, and we invited enterprise directors with a lot of experience, as well as the representatives of the party and social organizations, to participate in the work of the committees. The review committees usually talked personally to one-third of the applicants. The experience also shows that the ratio of female applicants was very low; it did not reach 10 percent. Of the applicants, 60 percent were from industry and 40 percent from outside this sector; the majority had previously filled mid-level managerial positions. It is a problem that the review committees generally prefer older people with wide experience, and renewal at the managerial level is going very slowly. However, it is evident that the application system significantly improved and expanded both managerial mobility and the objective method of selecting replacements.

PARTY ORGAN COMMENTS ON ON-JOB ALCOHOL ABUSE

AU141746 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 12 Nov 85 p 6

[Kalman Horvath article: "Alcohol at Work"]

[Text] I base this report on the legally valid disciplinary and compensation decisions published in the bulletin of the Southern Hungary Construction Enterprise. (initials have been substituted for the protagonists' last names)

Istvan N., panel installer, and Ferenc V., construction laborer, were both caught by alcohol inspection. Iron worker Matyas K. staggered but did not agree to blow into the breathalyzer; however, he could not avoid being held responsible. The head of the enterprise's labor safety department mentions that during the past 4 years alcohol has been the cause of 200 disciplinary offenses, which were followed by punishment.

Fewer Than Formerly?

Before anybody gets shocked, it must be made clear that, compared to the past, alcohol consumption at work has in fact decreased. Once a beaten path led from the construction sites to the nearest pub or the drinks counter of the nearest food store. At that time, the foreman was right in complaining about the badly formulated and interpreted announcement for competition. In order to get the title of eminent enterprise, an enterprise had to increase production and the number of its socialist brigades and had to decrease the incidences of disciplinary punishment. Most production managers believed that if no accident occurred there was no lack of discipline. Thus, according to the statistics, it seemed that the mortar was mixed by teetotallers, the concrete was carried by people with anti-alcohol convictions, and the thirsty brickmasons were drinking milk. The foremen sent home only those drunkards who were dangerous to themselves: They were forced to take a day off. One of the construction enterprises even forgave its workers for diverting the bus transporting them. Using sharp knives to threaten the driver, workers traveling to the construction site forced him to stop in front of a pub along the road. The perpetrators got their due punishment: their knives were confiscated at the construction site.

According to the head of the construction enterprise's labor safety department, the difficult situation of the construction sector has made it necessary to increase work discipline. There are few customers ordering construction work, and it is obvious that they can do without the hangers-on and the drunkards among the work force, which was previously greater. In any case, a general manager regulation forbids even the presence of alcohol at work. Earlier it sometimes happened that when a worker who had been summoned to the office because he was drinking on the job entered the office, he found people who were raising glasses to each other's health. Nowadays, celebration of name-days or decorations is forbidden offices. The most suitable place for this is the enterprise club that opens after work hours.

The leading secretary of the Bekes County trade unions claims that less is said than necessary about the responsibility of the leaders. Workers do not drink everywhere, only at work places where this behavior is excused. There can be two reasons for the indulgence of the economic managers: either they are negligent in their supervisory activities, or they have no moral basis for taking somebody to task. What kind of discipline can be demanded by a leader who is tottering in the factory yard himself?

Continuing the "Tradition."

Nowadays, every fifth adult in Hungary visits a bar or pub more or less frequently. At least half of the adult male population of the small villages is free today to visit the wine-shop during working hours.

It is impossible to change drinking habits -- I hear this everywhere. The head of an agricultural cooperative, who is preparing to retire, claims that for elderly village people drinking a small schnapps substitutes for brushing their teeth in the morning.

"In the fifties we got brandy, which was expensive, from the ministry," he says. "The pubs sold only rum, and the harvesters received home-distilled brandy as a favor. The reapers, pickers, sheaf binders, and grain binders also got some. After this 'central assistance' failed to arrive, we bought the 'muscle refresher' ourselves. Later, we prohibited in vain the drinking of alcohol; many thought the tradition should be continued."

Indeed, drinking habits are shaped by generations. Cement factory workers, foundry workers, workers engaged in unloading freight cars, street sweepers (and we could continue the list) all find adequate explanation for drinking. They mention the dust, smoke, heat, hard manual labor, and continuous concentration as an explanation for the fact that "their organism" craves the "relaxing" alcohol.

Alcohol (rumor has it) is not only tolerated but is also recommended in certain jobs. Lacking adequate technological installations, certain kinds of work are supposedly impossible to carry out clear-headedly. There were still peat-mixers 2 decades ago. Could anyone object if, after cleaning one or another outhouses, they went into the pub? These workers have now been replaced by machines, but the sewage and purifier tank cleaners still have to do the work themselves.

In the course of gathering this material, I have found out how difficult it is to record the number of working hours lost because of alcohol. If a mechanic who always works without a safety belt falls off a scaffolding, it is impossible to find out the real cause of the accident. He drank, but who can tell whether alcohol or the constant lack of discipline can be blamed for the catastrophe?

The Dangers of Mondays

The labor-safety department head who has been waging a war against sick-pay cheaters for 2 decades sums up his experiences:

The most dangerous days are Mondays. The beginning of the week is characterized by hangovers and lack of sleep. In these circumstances people can make mistakes even with movements they have performed thousands of times. If they suffer a smaller accident at the beginning of the shift, they clench their teeth and continue to work to avoid being exposed by the breathalyzer. They report their injury only at the end of the shift. By that time the alcohol has already been absorbed in their bloodstream, and the next day they can stay home on 100 percent sick pay. The same goes for weekends, too. The drunkard who falls at work on Friday goes to see the doctor only on Saturday. He says that he did not feel any pain the previous day. It has also occurred that someone reported a rib fracture as a factory injury. Nobody remembered any accident in the workshop. I found out at the man's home that he had gotten drunk that day. The barmaid, getting fed up with his noisy behavior, threw him out on the street. The drunkard fell and broke his rib on the stairs. This is the authentic story of a "factory accident."

Experts on alcoholism frequently describe the personality-destroying effects of drinking. The most frequent consequences of too much alcohol consumption are lethargy, aggression, clumsiness, loss of orientation and memory, muscle weakness, double vision, and disturbances in equilibrium. According to the official of the labor-safety department of the county trade union council, the trade unions consider it more important to improve information, education, and prevention than to catch the guilty ones in the act.

Unfortunately, there are examples of mechanical supervision that offend human dignity. Not long ago, for example, a young man suffering from high blood pressure passed out and broke some bones in the factory yard. His earlier behavior and speech did not indicate that he was an alcohol consumer, but the people giving him first aid nevertheless forced him to take the alcohol test. The poor injured man had hardly come to his senses before he had to blow into the breathalyzer.

Morning in the Bistro

At 10 o'clock in the morning, I go into some of the small restaurants and bistros in Szeged. The barmen and waiters in the Barka, Birka, Nylon, Napsugar, and Beke bistros are not idle. The guests are silent. I do not find bullies or troublemakers anywhere people who are avoiding work have to do so quietly. Three painters are raising their beer cans at one of the tables. They are "washing down the dust" from the reconstruction work on an adjacent house. An acquaintence of mine is among them, and I ask him whether the leader of their brigade knows about their absence.

"I know about it" -- answers the oldest member of the party.

The shopkeeper introduces his guests and tells me who in the drinking party "represents" what surrounding factory or institution. I did not take notes, so no one can think that I am who is making an exception of a person by leaving him off the list.

"No matter how early I open the bar, someone will always wait in the entrance" -- says the bartender. "Our shop has an annual turnover of 6 million forints. It is possible to calculate the capacity of our guests from this sum." "Only the workers drink?"

"They do not have to introduce themselves when they enter. Many of them are called chief, comrade, colleague by their acquaintances."

"What do they order?"

"Mainly beer, wine, brandy, cognac. Sometimes mineral water or tonic, but only as an accompanying drink."

"All this during work time?"

"Every morning guest can hardly be a pensioner, a person on sick leave, or a worker on holiday. I, of course, do not demand that the pubs around working places be closed down. I would, however, consider whether the old doormen are suitable for checking the people going in and out."

"If the people who make the laws were more severe, what would happen to you and your turnover?"

"There has never been a pub here which had a deficit. But of how many enterprises can we say the same thing?"

No one wants to ban alcohol; they only want to halt the loss of actual working time. According to sociologists, out of the 40 hours of working time, the average man works only 32-34. The rest he spends with idling, waiting because of bad organization, and managing his own affairs. Or perhaps drinking in a pub.

REPORT FROM GENEVA ON TALKS' START, EXTRA MEETING

LD191601 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 19 Nov 85

[Krzysztof Nojna report from Geneva]

[Text] CPSU General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev and U.S. President Ronald Reagan began their historic meeting 2 hours ago. We do not yet have any information concerning the proceedings of the first session, which should be coming to an end just now.

In an hour Leonid Zamyatin will meet with correspondents, and no doubt we will learn then how the Soviet side assresses this session.

At 1430 the two leaders will again hold a 2-hour meeting. Today Ronald Reagan is the host: At exactly 1000 he greeted Mikhail Gorbachev at the entrance of the historic Villa on the Grounds of Fleur d'Eau, near Geneva. Later, both leaders posed inside for a moment for photographers and television crew.

The talks began with a face-to-face meeting in one of the side rooms adjoining the main hall in which those accompanying Gorbachev and Reagan waited, among them the diplomatic heads of both states.

How is this being assessed? On the one hand, everyone clearly sees that there are differences that divide the Soviet Union and the United States. On the other hand, everyone is hoping that since in spite of everything the summit meeting has come about, it cannot end with nothing to show for it. Of course the most important matter is that of space wars. Without the United States turning back from that path, there is no question of halting the arms race. On the other hand, it is known that both leaders will be talking about many other problems. If it turns out to be impossible to achieve a breakthrough in the arms area, can one count on there being some sort of agreement possible that could, for example, help in defusing tensions in various regions of the globe? If such an enormous crowd of journalists has turned up in Geneva -- almost 4,000 of them -- it is not only because all of them are interested, to the same extent, in the chance of breaking off the arms race. When one speaks, for example, with the Arab correspondents, they do not hide the fact that for them, the summit is a great chance for Soviet-American cooperation, without which any sort of long-lasting solution to the Middle East conflict seems to be very problematic.

One can also ask oneself whether, if both leaders were to leave without any agreement on future cooperation in arms control, they would be able, at the same time, to improve bilateral relations to the extent that further dialogue would be possible.

These are questions to which there are no answers; this does not mean, however, that one should lapse into pessimism. Behind-the-scenes rumors say that an extra meeting might come about on Thursday morning [21 November] which would mean that a joint statement or communique is being considered -- that is, that there are areas in which agreement is possible. But what is most important, one must remember, is the arms issue. In this regard, unfortunately, the Americans are taking a remarkably inflexible stance, not wishing to tie their hands with agreements that could interfere in their implementation of military programs.

REAGAN NOT INTERESTED IN REAL N-ARMS REDUCTION

LD201031 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0600 GMT 20 Nov 85

[Text] The morning papers carry extensive reports on the first day of the talks in Geneva between Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan.

TRYBUNA LUDU, in a commentary entitled "Interest and Expectations," writes: We are aware that the Soviet Union and the United States have come to Geneva with opposing views on defusing the existing military confrontation in the world. In the opinion of commentators in the West as well, Ronald Reagan and the aggressive forces which stand behind him are still not interested in a genuine reduction in nuclear armaments; in any case they have no intention of stopping the militarization of space.

SUMMIT OPPORTUNITIES ARISE FROM USSR INITIATIVES

LD191745 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 19 Nov 85

[Jan Gadomski commentary]

[Text] Where are the opportunities at Geneva, given the different aims of the interlocutors and a completely different view as far as the goal of the negotiations is concerned? Probably mainly in Soviet decisiveness and energetic activity. Under the influence of the Soviet peace offensive, the President of the United States, on the eve of Geneva, changed his vocabulary and his reasoning: He began to speak of agreement and peace. Is this a sign of a breakthrough or a tactical dodge? We shall have an answer today or tomorrow to this question.

But even now one can say that in this change in the propaganda tone of the United States there resides an awareness that the crusading ideology wrought in the White House finds no support in the world, even among the U.S. allies. On the other hand the Soviet arguments for restraining the arms race, above all in space, find increasing support.

So, the United States fears isolation. This may play a positive role at Geneva, but not a decisive one; for it is not very likely that the American Armed Forces and industrial complex, which has enormous financial and political interests in the arms race, would want to or could change its strategic goals from day to day. A proof of this is the notorious Weinberger letter.

So what can one expect? If all that to can be said is that it will be worthwhile to meet again, and just that, it was not worth traveling so far in the first place.

The success of the Geneva summit has a very simple condition: Peace will be more secure if both superpowers accept the mutual right to security on the basis of an equal balance of forces. The Soviet Union recognizes such a right for the United States. Now it is the other side's turn. Now the halting of the course of events toward the worst, toward which, with pitiless logic, the arms race leads, depends solely on the American side.

If the Geneva talks of the leaders of the two world powers provide impetus for a change in the direction in which our world has been heading these past years, the aim of the meeting of Mikhail Gorbachev with Ronald Reagan will have been achieved.

Summit's Import: Continuing Dialogue

LD191903 Warsaw PAP in English 1707 GMT 19 Nov 85

[From the press review]

[Text] Warsaw, 19 Nov -- In connection with today's scheduled meeting between the leaders of the Soviet Union and the United States in Geneva TRYBUNA LUDU writes, among other things: "The public opinion in the East and West agrees that the current Soviet-American summit carries special significance for the fate of mankind.

"The matter of preventing the militarization of outer space and not allowing the arms race to develop into space constitutes the key issue behind the agenda of the Geneva meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan.

"The leader of the Soviet Union brings a string of real and concrete initiatives.

"The Soviet approach to the summit is marked by restraint, realism, readiness for meaningful comprimises and is backed by a series of significant, unilateral self-limiting steps such as, for example, a ban on nuclear weapons tests for a 5-month period.

"It is hard to expect that one meeting, after a few-year period of bad Soviet-American relations and a tense situation between East and West, could lead to a fundamental change. But it can give rise to a course for the better and could decide about the continuation of the dialogue startedat the highest level between Washington and Moscow. This would be in line with the hopes and expectations of the world public opinion, including that of Polish society which directs its attention towards Geneva."

Poles Support USSR Proposals

LD201253 Warsaw PAP in English 1103 GMT 20 Nov 85

[From the press review]

[Text] In a topical commentary on the ongoing Soviet-U.S. summit TRYBUNA LUDU reviews the moves of the two sides taken prior to the meeting, and ponders its possible outcome in view of international hopes it evoked. The paper wrote:

"The Soviet Union, by means of its constructive, global proposals for nuclear disarmament and for preventing the militarization of space, has created a political and psychological situation in which the White House could not but accept the offer to discuss the issue of peace and security for mankind as a whole."

"This, however, does not mean that the arrival in Geneva of the President of the United States will automatically change the aggressive and hegemonic goals of the U.S. policies, at the foundation of which lies the philosophy of worldwide domination, gigantic armaments and blackmailing the socialist community."

Referring to Polish society's interest in the summit, the daily said: "Poles firmly support the Soviet Union's constructive proposals in Geneva. We view them as a real chance for reducing gigantic armaments and preventing new ones, for giving a positive answer to the question of 'to be, or not to be.' This peace-oriented stance of ours was stressed with full emphasis by Wojciech Jaruzelski at the U.N. Forum and by Zbigniew Messner in his keynote speech to the Sejm, both expressing a hope that the Geneva summit would contribute to detente and help avert the threat of a nuclear catastrophe. In this spirit we will assess the results of talks between Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan."

WEINBERGER LETTER REVEALS 'ANTI-AGREEMENT' FORCE

LD192326 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2210 GMT 19 Nov 85

[Text] The talks in Geneva are passing in a good climate but in secret. The spokesmen will only report on the composition of delegations and the duration of various meetings without entering into any substantive value judgements. During these intensive talks there will, therefore, be no premature opinions or sensational news. The talks have been wrapped up in a thick curtain and only when the meeting is finished will the curtain be lifted.

Let us look, therefore, at the course of today's meeting. It started, as already reported by radio and television, with a long conversation between Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan with only the interpreters present in the room. Instead of 15 minutes, they talked for over an hour. What conclusion can be drawn from this, without attempting to speculate and to guess? One can say that such a long private talk indicates how badly needed this Geneva meeting is and how many matters for discussion have accumulated.

As we have already said, we have no information about the content of the talks but on the basis of preparations for this historic meeting and statements made by both sides, and taking into consideration the results of the meetings of the two foreign ministers, one can say that the problems of disarmament are coming to the fore and among them the issue of the demilitarization of space. The Soviet side has presented clear proposals, thus showing not only a flexible attitude but readiness to discuss every topic and to examine any counterproposals.

However, all things considered, such counterproposals have not materialized. Washington offered its old concepts but in new wrapping, striving to achieve military superiority by negotiating. In this context, the letter from Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger, who persuaded President Reagan to stiffen his attitudes in the Geneva talks, has great significance. This shows how powerful are the forces which act in Washington against the conclusion of an agreement. This, then, was the climate in which the talks started, the talks which are accompanied in spite of all obstacles by the hopes of the whole world.

URBAN SAYS POLAND MUST NOT BE ON SUMMIT AGENDA

LD191348 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1300 GMT 19 Nov 85

[Text] Poland has always appreciated the importance of the relations between the Soviet Union and the United States, and declared itself for their improvement. We attach great importance to the meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan beginning in Geneva today, government press spokesman Jerzy Urban said at the start of today's press conference.

We believe this meeting should favorably influence an easing of tension, a decrease in the threat of war, and the achievements of solutions which will be acceptable to both sides. In particular this meeting should serve to restrain the arms race and make impossible its transfer to space.

The government spokesman said that Poland would reject any attempt by President Reagan to refer to the situation in Poland. We are a sovereign country and will not allow ourselves to be spoken about without our participation.

URBAN DENOUNCES U.S. 'ANTI-POLISH PROPAGANDA'

LD192127 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 19 Nov 85

[Text] Now, as announced, we return to the press conference for foreign journalists by the Government Spokesman Jerzy Urban. At today's conference the spokesman devoted great attention to the anti-Polish propaganda which has been intensifying in the United States recently, he said:

[Began Urban recording] We have seen recently in the United States another intensification of various undertakings in the nature of interference in Poland's internal affairs, aimed at developing propaganda on violation of human rights in Poland and demanding the release of political prisoners and so forth.

They comprise various draft resolutions and other measures with clear propaganda intentions. We cannot understand the reasons for this kind of undertaking in the United States. The United States is a country in which the problem of political prisoners exists, although it simply blurred over -- its essence and its acuteness. The National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression points out -- as it did in a document tabled before the Human Rights Commission at the United Nations once -- that there are an exceptionally large number of political prisoners in the United States, although the American authorities do not want to recognize them as such. According to the Executive Director of that alliance, Mr Chapman, at this moment the number of those arrested for political beliefs in the United States exceeds 12,000 people or so. However, according to police and court records, these arrests result only from breaches of the peace or of their regulations not connected with political activity.

The U.S. Government thus creates the impression that no one has been arrested and sentenced in the United States for his political beliefs and this kind of thesis is put about by the American Administration. We hold this to be a kind of deception, of hiding the reality inside America and making this the basis for accusations against other countries, including Poland. We can just as well demand the release of American political prisoners as the United States demands the release of people who are imprisoned in Poland because of politically motivated offenses.

Now, preparations have ended in Arizona for a court trial of two Protestant priests, a Catholic nun, and seven other religious activists who provided shelter and help to political refugees from Guatemala and El Salvador who were threatened with a death sentence, who [words indistinct] security forces in those countries. Despite such threats and despite the fact that the United States claims that it is an open country for political refugees who are under any threat, and despite the fact that country provides political asylum for political refugees from Poland who are under no threat in Poland, or almost none, these activists are taken to court and arrested.

One should also point out that out of 200,000 prisoners who are detained only in federal prisons -- that is, only a part of the total number of prisoners in the United States -- 40 percent are blacks while blacks constitute only 13 percent of the total U.S. population. It indicates the fact that in the judiciary policy of the United States and in the police policy, there exists, or may exist, an element of racial discrimination.

The United States accuses us of violating human rights. In our understanding violation of human rights stands out glaringly in the United States. For there are no unemployed or people who starve and are homeless in Poland. In the United States, however, according to American data, there are over 12 million unemployed, over 30 million paupers, and around 3 million homeless. Recently, according to data by an American journalist, [name indistinct], around 60 million Americans are practically illiterate. Further, only last year the police detained 665,000 people during antiwar protests in the United States. Thousands of them were immediately taken to courts and sentenced to prison in literally a few minutes. At the same time, the United States and its official spokesmen condemn the summary procedure being used in Poland.

In the United States -- which demands trade union freedom in Poland, for this freedom seems insufficient to them -- the chairman of the Chicago trade union of steel industry workers, (Jose Romano) was sentenced to prison and a fine this year, and the whole leadership of the teachers' union was thrown into prison in the state of Rhode Island for organizing a teachers' strike. I do not speak about other arrests, and the ganster-style ways of dealing with some activists of some trade unions. It is also symptomatic that the United States has not ratified many significant international conventions -- such as an international agreement on economic, social and cultural rights; an international agreement on civic and political rights; an international convention on eradication of all forms of racial discrimination and others. [end recording]

After this statement, the representative of the American NBC television network expressed surprise that the spokesman was attacking the United States in such a way at a time when the Geneva meeting is in progress.

[Begin recording] [Urban] I am surprised you call it an attack. It is a defense in connection with the numerous ventures in the United States striking at Poland's interests.

[unidentified reporter] It is also asked whether Poland will reject all attempts to talk in Geneva on the subject of the internal situation.

[Urban] That is so, since Poland is a sovereign country, and rejects generally all talks about Poland, without Poland, above Poland's head, and all attempts to incapacitate Poland, which, so it seems, would lie in the intentions of the U.S. Administration. [end recording]

A journalist of Radio Polonia requested a comment on the official and ceremonial farewell to former ministers.

[begin Urban recording] These normal changes having a rotational character, connected to the changes in the administrative structure, on the central level concept of the work of certain departments, and so on. It is agreed with a number of people who have ceased holding ministerial positions that they will be used further for duties in posts for state and other work. Talks are taking place with others. There are returns to professions and previously held positions, for example, in teaching. [end recording]

There was also a question asking if the decision taken by the Government Presidium to limit subsidies is aimed at forcing greater economies, or at a preparation for price rises. The spokesman stated that it is only a matter of forcing economies and savings in enterprises, and in no event will this bring price rises.

Urban Discusses Release of Noncriminal Offenders

LD200003 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 19 Nov 85

[Excerpts] Government Press Spokesman Jerzy Urban, at a meeting with foreign journalists, referring to the summit meeting which has begun in Geneva, stated that Poland has always appreciated the importance of Soviet-U.S. relations and has spoken in favor of their improvement.

Next, Jerzy Urban discussed the release of people arrested and sentenced for non criminal offenses. He announced that by the end of last week 75 people had been released. The spokesman confirmed that the results of the autopsy on Marcin Antonowicz's body will be revealed soon.

Finally, Jerzy Urban critically commented on the fact that in some churches' religious and cultural events acquire a purely political significance.

CC Politburo Discusses Energy, Youth Problems

LD192132 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1830 GMT 19 Nov 85

[Text] The PZPR Central Committee Politburo today discussed the implementation of an energy saving program for 1985-86, and fundamental tasks in this sphere until 1990.

In the period 1983-85 there was a higher than planned national reduction of energy and material consumption. However, the use of these elements of production remains high. It was stressed that two-thirds of the increase of industrial production and national income until 1990 must be achieved with the reduced use of energy and materials. It is also necessary to sharpen demands for economies in organizational and employment structures, foreign trips, and in expenses connected with advertizing and also official expenses (reprezentacja].

With this in view, it is necessary to use all possibilties which exist in institutions and enterprises, and to strengthen system solutions both economical and organizational, to take resolute action against waste and extravagance, and unjustified development of administrative structure, and also to improve discipline and responsibility in this sphere. The particular role of social awareness in stimulating a movement for thrifty management was stressed.

The Politburo approved proposals prepared by the Economic Department of the Central Committee and the Supreme Chamber of Control for new steps in combatting waste and extravagance in economic life. A motion was approved on preparing a Politburo resolution concerning thrift.

The Politburo also dealt with problems of youth. They discussed the implementation of the decisions of the PZPR Central Committee's Ninth Plenum which considered the awakening of economic initiatives and production activity in young generation a having particular urgency and importance. The situation in this sphere, although more favorable, is still variable.

The meeting reviewed various youth initiatives, and the problems of youth housing cooperatives and amalgamations were discussed with particular attention. The Politburo stressed in its conclusions the need for higher activity by the young generation. This is an urgent task for socialist unions of youth. They should direct their activity not only to their own members but to the entire young generation. Party organizations, the PRON (Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth), the state and economic administration must be the natural and permanent allies of these intiatives. There is a need for a joint search for real possibilities of undertaking actions from the point of view of public interest, economically effective, and favorable both for enterprises, and for the youth themselves.

The Politburo was briefed on the results of a consultation on a draft law on extending the participation of youth in social, political, economic, and cultural life. Submitted opinion will be utilized in further work on the document, which will be sent to the Sejm.

The Politburo positively assessed a draft law on works' welfare and housing funds. It took into account the postulates submitted by the National Trade Union Accord [OPZZ]. The draft provides for a considerable increase of financial funds for welfare and housing goals, and also those connected with assistance for old age pensioners and retired people.

MONGOLIAN DELEGATION ARRIVES FOR VISIT

LD192248 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1615 GMT 19 Nov 85

[Text] A delegation of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party Central Committee has arrived in Szczecin on a 2-day visit. In the morning, the guests from Mongolia were received by Stanislaw Miskiewicz, first secretary of the PZPR Voivodship Committee in Szczecin. Possibilities for cooperation in the area of agriculture and food economy were discussed. Next, the delegation of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party visited a gardening enterprise and a meat processing plant, where they met the party and economic activ.

CZYREK INTERVIEWED ON COUNTRY'S FUTURE

AU061701 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 30 Oct 85 p 6

[Interview with Jozef Czyrek, member of the Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, by Pavol Minarik, RUDE PRAVO Warsaw correspondent: "Facing Poland's Future" -- date and place not given. Initial paragraph is paper's introduction -- uppercase passages published in boldface]

[Text] THE PZPR, THE PARTY OF POLISH COMMUNISTS, IS AT THE HEAD OF THE ENDEAVOR AIMED AT POLAND'S POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC CONSOLIDATION. IT WILL HOLD ITS 10TH CONGRESS NEXT YEAR. WHAT ARE THE MOST TYPICAL TASKS OF POLISH COMMUNISTS NOW, AFTER THE ELECTIONS AND PRIOR TO THE CONGRESS? COMRADE JOZEF CZYREK, MEMBER OF THE POLITBURO AND SECRETARY OF THE PZPR CENTRAL COMMITTEE, GAVE RUDE PRAVO AN INTERVIEW ON THESE ISSUES.

[Minarik] THE PARTY AND SOCIETY IN THE POLISH PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC UNDERWENT A CRISIS WHOSE CONSEQUENCES ARE BEING GRADUALLY OVERCOME. HOW, IN THIS CONNECTION, DO YOU ASSESS THE SITUATION IN THE COUNTRY AFTER THE SEJM ELECTIONS HELD ON 13 OCTOBER 1985?

[Czyrek] The elections in our country were held after years of great problems in political, social, and economic life, and in a situation that still is not easy. Therefore, the importance of the elections cannot be restricted to the election act alone. The elections, together with the election campaign, were the reflection of all the problems we have to tackle.

Participation in the elections -- greater than in the elections for the national councils last year -- attests to the fact that the process of stabilization has an enduring character. We have achieved it in conditions demanding an exceptional effort by the party and its allies. In our society, despite the fundamental qualitative change in restoring stability, there still exist, in the material sphere as well as in the [people's] consciousness, some consequences of the crisis which, as yet, have not been overcome. The political opponent wants to exploit this situation. Imperialist, anti-government attacks were particularly intensified in the period prior to the elections. Various antisocialist groups, which closely cooperate with Western subversive centers, did everything to spread the slogan of a boycott of the elections.

But the course of the preelection meetings already showed that the enemies of socialism in our country are increasingly isolated. The preelection meetings were attended by a particularly large number of people. They were openly debating with the candidates for the deputies' posts and with representatives of state agencies. They voiced many critical recommendations, but it was criticism waged from the positions of proponents and not opponents of the constitutional order. Our citizens attentively listened to and received with agreement the speech by Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, delivered on 9 October in the Warsaw Cora garment enterprise, in which he took a stand on the weightiest problems submitted in preelection discussions.

Participation in the elections revealed that the decisive majority of our society supports the program determined at the extraordinary Ninth PZPR Congress. They were in favor of understanding and cooperation to serve to overcome the economic difficulties, improve socialist social relations, strengthen Poland's ties with the countries of the socialist community, and at the same time, they were against the proponents of destruction and anarchy.

Such a situation has not been created in society's consciousness automatically; it is not the result of coincidence but the consequence of the policy and the intensive activity of the party which took a decisive stand on errors in the seventies, implemented constructive proposals from the past, and achieved obvious results in overcoming the crisis phenomenon in the political, economic, and social spheres. The victory in the elections affirmed the correctness of the line determined at the Ninth PZPR Congress, the line of socialist renewal. The results of the elections are evidence that the party has renewed links with the masses, and reinforced its leading and directing role in the country and society. In a certain sense one can speak ABOUT CONCLUDING THE STAGE OF NORMALIZATION IN POLAND, A MATTER THAT CREATES NEW OPPORTUNITIES FOR THE PARTY TO TURN ITS ATTENTION TO PROBLEMS AND QUESTIONS OF THE FUTURE, AND TO THE REALIZATION OF THE PROGRAMMATIC LINE IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE EXPECTATIONS OF THE WORKERS CLASS AND THE ENTIRE SOCIETY.

The lesson from the experience acquired from the political and ideological struggle is also of great importance. This experience has taught us that even when the forces of socialism are achieving successes and the opponent is weakening, one must not underestimate potential dangers. This is stated in one of the conclusions of the report of a PZPR Central Committee commisssion that was set up to clarify the causes and the course of social conflicts in the history of the Polish People's Republic. The report states that one has to reckon with the fact that imperialism will support antisocialist centers for a long time to come. For us, this is a command to be vigilant and prepared to fight the opponent. Here we keep in mind the precept that success in this struggle depends, above all, on whether our policy is just, on whether we succeed in winning society's support for it, and on constantly strengthening the party's ties with the broadest masses.

[Minarik] WHAT ROLE DO THE POLITICAL PARTIES AND SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS PLAY IN THE CONTINUING CONSOLIDATION?

[Czyrek] The party needs the support of the working people to implement the program of socialist transformations. The United Peasant Party (ZSL) and the Democratic Party (SD) are our allies, who for many years have been actively participating with the PZPR in building socialism. The ties uniting these parties with the PZPR were tested in the most difficult period and also in recent years, when the enemies of Poland attacked its foundations more strongly than ever before. These parties stood up against the pressure of the proponents of anarchy and also against attempts at centrifugal [odtsredive] tendencies; they defended the principles of the socialist system while recognizing the leading role of the PZPR. That cooperation has yielded good results and has played an important role in the 1980-81 years of crisis, in the process of overcoming difficulties, and in the implementation of the line of understanding, struggle, and reforms adopted at the Ninth Party Congress.

When the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth (PRON) came into being and began to develop, the PZPR, the ZSL, the SD, and the associations of catholics and christians of denominations had become its backbone. Also numerous non-party people, socialist youth organizations, trade unionists, and members of many social organizations joined PRON.

For us, PRON has become a movement in which the Leninist principle stating socialism cannot be built by communists alone was implemented in practice. It has united all forces of society that were aware of the great dangers facing the state, but were also aware of the possibilities created by the program of socialist renewal and reforms. PRON has become the broadest platform for the cooperation of the population for the benefit of stabilizing and normalizing the situation in the country. By adopting as its own an unusually extensive range of problems -- beginning with the socialist education of youth, all the way to restoring the economy to soundness and to issues connected with environmental protection -- it motivated all patriotically thinking Poles toward a truly committed approach to common things.

If we take into consideration the latest experience acquired from PRON's role in the elections and in the preelection campaign -- the movement's election program, its role in selecting candidates and organizing preelection meetings, and so forth -- today we could hardly imagine the country's political scene without this social movement. It has become one of the most important planes [rovin] ensuring the party's ties with society.

[Minarik] HOW DO YOU ASSESS THE ATTITUDES OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AND ITS HIERARCHY TOWARD THE CURRENT SITUATION IN THE COUNTRY?

[Czyrek] We formulated our view on relations between the state and church at the 12th and 13th sessions of the PZPR Central Committee in 1983. At that time, we said that our party stands as before on the principle of the citizens' equality guaranteed by the Constitution, independent of their relationship toward the church and of freedom of belief. On the principle of the separation of church and state; we favored the observance of religious freedom, and a relationship between state and church that corresponds to the interests of the Polish People's Republic. At the same time, we stressed that we will categorically oppose the violation of these principles, militant clericalism, intolerance, and the misuse of religious worship for political objectives. At the same time, in the standpoint of the party's Central Committee we did not hide the existence of the fundamental differences between the Marxist-Leninist and the religious weltanschauung. We proceeded from the assumption that ideological disputes do not necessarily have to lead to a confrontation in the political sphere, that they do not exclude the possibility of cooperation between the state and the church in a number of other fields.

And what does practice look like? The situation is complex. It was described by Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski at a press conference with foreign journalists on 28 November 1984. He said, among other things: "One has to say that the church also includes -- next to the hierarchy and clergymen, that is, the organization -- millions of believers. Already for 40 years these millions of believers in Poland have been taking an active part in building a new order. One can say that we prove in practice that it is possible, in accordance with the principle of the separation of church and state, to realize nationwide tasks.

"The majority of clergymen take positions that enable them to fulfill their spiritual mission without violating the principles governing relations with the state. A considerable number of them carry out social activity and support positive solutions to various problems in our daily life. I would like to stress the merits of many clergymen in restoring and strengthening Polish sentiments [citeni] in our western territory.

"But I do not conceal the fact that a certain part of the clergy that shows political irritablity does not respect the principles determined by the Constitution and the state interests. We are alarmed by this and are discussing this issue with the leadership of the episcopate. We will consistently orient ourselves toward eliminating such phenomena for the benefit of the state and the church."

Such phenomena also cropped up in the course of the latest election campaign. There were instances when opponents of socialism who have nothing in common with religion conducted political activity in places of religious worship. Such misuse of the church clearly corresponds with the views of some clergymen. If this were not the case, the enemies of the socilaist state could not misuse these spiritual temples. However, many Catholics are against having the Church dragged into politics and into activity that is at variance with the principles of the Constitution. After all, this was attested to by the high participation in the elections to Sejm.

[Minarok] WHAT IS THE CURRENT STATE OF THE NATIONAL ECONOMY AND WHAT FUNDAMENTAL ECONOMIC TASKS WILL BE SOLVED IN THE IMMEDIATE FUTURE?

[Czyrek] Economic results are the fundamental criterion of the effectiveness of the functioning of the national economy. If I am to objectively assess the economic results we have achieve under the conditions of the economic reform, they can be depicted as good. After the economic difficulties that started in our country in the middle of the eighties, first the decline in production was halted and then as of 1983, production has begun to increase gradually and the national income has grown. For example, productivity in industry has already exceeded the maximum level of 1979. The population's standard of living has also begun to improve. The balance of the market is beginning to normalize and inflation is beginning to come under control.

All this is being realized under conditions of restrictions and drastically restricted imports from the capitalist countries. The exceptionally cold winter was a weighty factor that has made achievement of projected targets more difficult. We are not forgetting that the results we have achieved were made possible thanks to the effective assistance provided by the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries. We regard the reorientation of our national economy toward higher forms of cooperation within the CEMA framework as a strategic task. The inevitable need to restructure or economies to forms of intensive development is a problem common to all our countries. Therefore, we put great hopes in the coordination of plans and long-term agreements on economic and scientific-technological cooperation up to the year 2000. We are also aware of the need to consider -- within the CEMA framework -- news ways of interlocking industry with science that would correspond to the world trends in the intensification of production and technological dynamism.

In this connection, we attach great importance to Polish-Czechoslovak cooperation. Our duty is to carry out all decisions in the economic sphere adopted during the meetings between Comrades Wojciech Jaruzelski and Gustav Husak in Prague and Warsaw, as well as in other spheres of cooperation between our countries and fraternal parties.

Some of the primary objectives in the draft of the 1986-90 national economic plan are: further strengthening of the market's equilibrium while steadily increasing consumption; further modernization of production -- particularly through accelerating technological progress and correct investments: marked increase of exports, improving their profitability; and creation of conditions for slowing down the growth of indebtedness abroad.

Achieving these objectives requires profound qualitative changes in the economy, particularly great savings in consumption of fuels, energy, and raw materials; more efficient utilization of work time; and prudent handling of state property. This also means strengthening and perfecting the party's influence in the economic sphere, consistently perfecting the system of the management of the economy while taking into account new conditions and experience -- ours and the fraternal countries'.

We think the changes in the system of economic activity in the 1986-90 period will on the one hand serve to strengthen the strategic functions of central planning and on the other serve enterprises' independence and self-financing, the activity of workers' councils, and cooperatives' self-administration as the basic forms of the working people's participation in the management of the economy and socioeconomic planning.

On the party's initiative, we have amended some previously introduced system solutions in economic management. The changes approved by the Sejm in the legislative sphere, which will regulate our economy in the coming 5-year plan, are to help raise the efficiency of the economy, restore economic equilibrium, combat inflation, and introduce technological progress into practice faster.

There is no doubt about one thing: The strengthening of the role of enterprises as the basic components of the economy will require the absolute implementation of discipline in self-financing.

[Minarik] THE 10TH PZPR CONGRESS WILL BE HELD IN THE FIRST HALF OF 1986. WHICH MAIN ISSUES ARE CHARACTERISTIC OF THE PRE-CONGRESS PREPARATIONS?

[Czyrek] Already today we are paying great attention to the preparations for the 10th congress. We are striving to have the congress become the starting point for speeding up the development of the socialist economy and for perfecting socialist relations in society.

In the preparatory work we have made use of the results of the sessions of the PZPR Central Committee to date. We are also invoking the resolutions of the statewide conference of the PZPR delegates and the ideological-programmatic declaration "What We Are Fighting For, What We Are Aiming At." We will also utilize the wealth of experience which we have acquired in political, economic and social life after the Ninth PZPR Congress.

We will also determine tasks for the coming quinquennium and will work out a draft of the party program reaching up to the turning point of the 20th and 21st century, in accordance with the decision of the Ninth PZPR Congress. Work on that program continues. We expect that the second PZPR theoretical-ideological conference that will begin in Warsaw shortly will be an important stage of the discussion of the party's program.

In its essence, the program must be comprehensive, and must contain proposals for the solution of problems in all main sphere of sociopolitical life. A statewide conference obligated commissions preparing the draft program to adopt, among other things, the idea of strengthening the leading role of the workers class in the life of the nation and the state, to present and carry out the leading and directing role of the party in society and in the state, and to accurately determine tasks in strengthening Marxist-Leninist ideology in the party's activity as well as in social life. We are paying particular attention to speeding up socioeconomic development. We are introducing to their full extent the principles of economic reform, by which we are increasing work productivity and striving for more rapid development of scientific-technological progress. We are stressing the need to strengthen the socialist state, the further development of socialist democracy, and the participation the populace in management. An exceptionally important problem, which must have a proper place in the party program, involves the issues connected with the young generation, their joining life, and also their involvement in politics and in the party's ideology.

Prior to the congress, the tasks of the coming quinquennium and the draft program will be the subject of a nationwide discussion. Through this consultation, the party members and all other citizens will have the opportunity to influence the shaping of the future, to accept the party program as their own, a matter that is the prerequisite for its successful realization.

In the preparations for the 10th congress we are paying great attention to strengthening the unity of the fraternal countries of the socialist community, to the development of all-round cooperation, to the unification of forces against the threats that the aggressive policy of imperialism constitutes to international relations. We will support the USSR's peace proposals and actively work toward the implementation of the resolution of the Warsaw Pact's Political Consultative Committee.

We follow with great interest the preparations of the fraternal countries for their congresses.

We are extensively acquainting our party aktiv with the preparations for the 27th CPSU Congress, with the speeches of CPSU Central Committee General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev and of other leading Soviet representatives, with the most important publications of the Soviet press. In a mutual study of experience we see the opportunity to search for the most effective solutions of common, universal, and one's own specific problems, problems which confront all our parties.

KWIATKOWSKI ON POLITICAL ATTITUDES, ACTIVITY

PM161405 Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 25 Oct 85 p 3

[Interview with Col Stanislaw Kwiackowski, director of the Public Opinion Study Center [CBOS]; by Hanna Swieszczakowska -- date, place not given]

[Text] [Swieszczakowska] In 1980 and 1981 the papers were hard to get and people waited impatiently for each new report on the situation in the country. They rushed from one meeting to another to find out more details and be better informed. But that was an exceptional time. How did people's interest in politics and their involvement in public affairs look later and how does it look today, at this time of progressing social and economic stabilization?

[Kwiatkowski] From the period which you call "an exceptional time" we then moved to another which was exceptional in a different way: from one emotional extreme to another. The years 1982 and 1983 were marked by an aversion to politics and to political declarations. It is true that people continued to read. They were even reading more than before, but they chose topics far removed from politics and from the country's current problems of that time. Particularly surprising was the increase in the reading habits of workers at large industrial plants. In that group, 71 percent of respondents declared that they read books regularly, which illustrated an increase of over 60 percent as compared with the 1979 findings of the Central Statistical Office. Today, in marked contrast to the situation of some years ago, books are mostly bought rather than borrowed. Almost 95 percent of the workers employed in large industrial plants that were polled by us declared that they had their own book collections.

[Swieszczakowska] This surely gives us cause to rejoice. Books teach us to perceive other problems besides our own and show us how to view our own problems in perspective and from different viewpoints. This difficult art is the hallmark of good citizenship. But I am also interested in something else. In what ways is the attitude of the Polish people changing with regard to politics and matters concerning the country?

[Kwiatkowski] In the spring of 1984 polls conducted by the CBOS showed increased interest in political life and an improvement in the social mood. This was in connection with the elections to people's councils, the 40th anniversary of People's Poland, and the amnesty, as well as with other important events and meetings during which the voice of the workers was predominant. But by the autumn of 1984 the general mood had already changed for the worse. People's political activity became intensified, but that was caused by an upsurge of negative emotions generated as a result of the kidnapping and murder of Father Popieluszko and also the announcement of intended price increases.

[Swieszczakowska] Does this indicate that in our day-to-day existence, when life inflicts no serious upheavals on us, we tend to retreat into the small shells of our own private problems, and only a few among us follow attentively the development of the political situation or take an active part in public life?

[Kwiatkowski] Somewhere near the end of last year public interest in politics started to decrease noticeably, eventually returning to the normal level of previous years, where it has stayed without significant change until now. Looking at the figures, we see that only a dozen or so percent — that is, some 4 to 4.5 million citizens -- care to watch political events with close interest. More than one-third of the population is not interested in them. By way of consolation we can say that in that respect we are not much different from the people of EEC Countries, where an average 20-30 percent of poll respondents never read about politics.

[Swieszczakowska] So how does this poor interest in politics combine with the active role citizens play in the spheres of public and political life?

[Kwiatkowski] There is an obvious discrepancy between taking the positive view of such active stance in others and one's own passivity. To the definite majority of respondents a public activist is someone who contributes to the common good, gives unselfish help to others, and for this deserves respect. This was particularly obvious in answers to the question: What sort of person should become a parliamentary deputy? The predominant opinion can be summarized in one sentence: A deputy has to be a man of unimpeachable integrity. Only a small percent of respondents had negative associations with voluntary public service. They saw those who devote themselves to it as careerists, people who talk much and do little, as poseurs who look only after their own interests.

When it came to describing respondents' own involvement in public and political life, the proportions were reversed. Only 13.4 percent said that they engaged in voluntary public work, and one-third of those would, in favorable circumstances, even be prepared to devote more time to it. As many as 85.4 percent admitted to inactivity in public matters. Within that group only 18.5 percent would like to be more active, but said that a variety of reasons precluded this. It is interesting that only 3 percent among those indicated that these reasons were political.

[Swieszczakowska] You have presumably encountered the view that this lack of any deeper involvement with politics and the inadequate public activity of a high proportion of our citizens are caused predominantly by their disapproval of the present reality and the policy pursued by the authorities. Does the CBOS research suggest any conclusions that may be drawn?

[Kwiatkowski] Only a few percent are really hostile toward the present reality. We put the following question to several sample groups of our respondents at several times: What should be done first and foremost to improve things in the country? We found few responses clearly indicative of negative attitudes to start with, and their number fell each time. To give an example, in December 1983 some 17 percent of town-dwelling respondents believed that the government should be changed, whereas in July of this year only 5.5 percent confirmed that view. An even smaller number of 4.5 percent believed that the system should be changed. Answers suggesting that people should be persuaded to work harder, that the economy should be reformed, that the work of offices and institutions should improve, and that the political system should be reformed according to the "socialism without distortions" principle received the highest support, reaching several score percent each time.

These results allow us to assess the numbers of supporters and adversaries of socialism in our country as well as the size of the politically active group and that of the passive, indifferent one. Certainly an increasing number of people approve of the changes now taking place. I think that half of the adult Polish population supports the government policy. In general, though, people's interest in politics and involvement in public life by no means follow directly from their political divisions and their attitudes toward the system.

[Swieszczakowska] But even these divisions are, as we can see, difficult to study, especially as they are not rigid. The results of the CBOS polls confirm that people become more active in response to concrete problems and events. The stands they take also become better defined at those times.

[Kwiatkowski] The CBOS studies disprove the claims that there is some kind of division splitting our society into two groups: the enemies of the supporters of the system, "us" and "them." The divisions are far more complex than that, and at the same time more fluid. They are more an expression of economic interests than political views. What stands out clearly is the considerable number of those who cannot make up their minds and who are vague about their views on the given questions. But I would not call that middle group between the opposing poles a silent majority, and I would on the whole avoid labelling it with any one description. It is, after all, composed of very different people, some of whom have until recently held opposing political views, but who are today united in their bitterness over the past and their doubts about the present. Their aversion to declaring themselves, to defining their position, is more often the result of the current vogue and their reluctance to make an effort rather than, say ignorance. Under no circumstances can we delude ourselves that those who "shun politics" today and have no opinion will remain passive tomorrow. If they come to agree not only on what to be against but also on what to be for, then that can decide about the nature of changes in Poland.

[Swieszczakowska] Thank you for the interview.

ENERGY MINISTRY NOTES PROBLEMS IN COAL INDUSTRY

LD170133 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1900 GMT 16 Nov 85

[Text] A meeting was held at the Ministry of Mining and Energy in Warsaw, during which the state of the implementation of this year's tasks within the ministry's enterprises was discussed.

It was stressed that the most important matter at the moment is the hard-coal balance. The difficulties of the mining and energy industry stem from an insufficient provision of materials, raw materials and machines. There is also a shortage of people willing to work in underground mines.

It can hardly be expected that tensions in the fuel and energy balance will decrease within the next few years. It was emphasized that conservation measures must be undertaken not only by the consumers of fuel and energy but also by their producers.

GNA APPEAL TO GORBACHEV, REAGAN PUBLISHED

AU192134 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 16 Nov 85 p 1

["Appeal of the Grand National Assembly (GNA) of the SR of Romania Addressed to CPSU Central Committee General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev and U.S. President Ronald Reagan"]

[Text] Expressing the Romanian people's desire and aspirations for peace, the GNA of the SR of Romania, now meeting in session, extends to you -- on the eve of the Soviet-U.S. summit in Geneva -- an appeal to do everything to ensure that this meeting leads to agreements which can meet the interests and expectations of nations and of the policy of peace, disarmament, and cooperation in the world.

Our people, as all nations of the world, are deeply concerned with the serious situation created in Europe and throughout the world as a result of the intensification of the arms race, primarily the nuclear arms race, which increases the danger of a world war. Under present circumstances, such a war would inevitably turn into a nuclear catastrophe, which would lead to the destruction of all human civilization and of life itself on our planet.

In view of the international conditions in which your Geneva meeting takes place, this meeting could be a unique opportunity to halt the dangerous course of events and open the way for halting the arms race and proceeding toward disarmament, primarily nuclear, and a world of peace.

Proceeding from the particular responsibility developing upon the USSR and the United States, as great nuclear powers, before their own peoples and all of mankind, the GNA of the SR of Romania expresses the hope that you will act in a highly responsible spirit to reach a mutually acceptable agreement during this meeting in Geneva, something which will lead to a mutual reduction of nuclear weapons, a halt to the deployment in and the withdrawal of intermediate-range nuclear missiles from Europe, a halt to the militarization of outer space, and the resumption of the policy of trust, detente, and peaceful cooperation.

On behalf of the Romanian people, the GNA addresses to you a solemn appeal to do everything to have the Geneva meeting conclude with good results that can instill a new course in international life and meet the ardent desire and aspirations of peoples to free themselves from the nightmare of a destructive nuclear war, that will lead to halting tests with nuclear arms and other mass destruction weapons and generally reducing military armaments and expenditures, and will ensure the supreme right of nations and people to life, freedom, and peace.

In the spirit of this appeal and with the conviction that all efforts will be made and that mutual understanding and trust will be shown, the GNA of the SR of Romania wishes full success to your meeting.

The GNA of the SR of Romania

U.S.-USSR RELATIONS POSE QUESTIONS FOR SUMMIT

AU181753 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 16-17 Nov 85 p 13

["The Week in the World'' column by Vlado Teslic: "The Big Ones and the Others"]

[Excerpts] The great expectations which accompanied the approaching meeting between the highest Soviet and American leaders are now being reduced, 2 or 3 days before the beginning of the talks between Reagan and Gorbachev in Geneva, to restrained and even caustic remarks that the most significant thing is that they are meeting at all.

In light of this very pronounced restraint, will not the forecast "event on the year" turn into a "nonevent" of the entire post-war period? Those who have long been dealing with these affairs will find confirmation of suspicions in the finer points of restraint in the latest statements by Gorbachev and Reagan.

In the 1970's, when meetings between Nixon and Brezhnev were being prepared, one did not talk about "frankness" and "honesty," but about abandoning the policy of confrontation and the indispensability of the policy of detente. On these foundations, after all, agreements on reducing and controlling nuclear armaments were concluded.

The present relations between the two superpowers pose many more questions than correct answers. Anyhow, for the first time in the history of the two superpowers' summits, there is not even a framework for some new agreement. What was it that provoked the two sides to intensive armament and even aggravation of some acute political problems? What is it in such a context that nevertheless made the two superpowers turn to negotiations? Is it possible to continue maintaining a balance in nuclear arms without a radical shift in disarmament or without any kind of agreement on controversial political questions?

Is what is coming next a new attempt to divide interest spheres? Is the new American industrial complex so powerful that, irrespective of the obvious danger, it dictates the politics of world hegemony without objections or opposition? What has happened to Europe and its traditional defense shield and interests in peace and detente?

Or perhaps those people most correct who think that the USSR and the United States are indeed stronger than ever in the military sense, but that they are far less powerful with regard to directing international relations on the whole? It is one thing, namely, to possess an apocalyptic weapon that you cannot use, and another to be politically invulnerable and indisputable -- that is, to be a "leader" in this world that has changed essentially and in which new values and new relations have been affirmed.

Is it that Europe, despite being turned into an arsenal of nuclear missiles of the two blocs, is nevertheless turning toward its economic and political independence and toward avoiding bloc confrontation?

There is no doubt that the USSR and the United States still have a special responsibility for protecting peace in the world, and that the dialogue between Gorbachev and Reagan can benefit overall relations in the world. It would, of course, be better to remember this summit for some specific agreement in the sphere of disarmament, rather than as another missed "historical" opportunity to set more stable foundations for the road "leading to the 21st century."

A dialogue of peace with a specific contribution by the two big powers in the sphere of nuclear disarmament is one thing, and plotting the road into the next century is another. For the latter, one will need other and different programs, as well as the participation of many other international factors.

REPORTS ON REAGAN-GORBACHEV 19 NOVEMBER MEETING IN GENEVA

Morning Session

LD191804 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croation 1400 GMT 19 Nov 85

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] As is probably known to everyone, attention is focused on the Geneva Reagan-Gorbachev summit meeting.

Before the unofficial meeting between Soviet General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev and U.S. President Ronald Reagan in Geneva this morning and before the official Soviet-U.S. summit talks began, the summit drama, which brings a heavy pressure to bear on this international city and which is not the first or the last event of this nature, has not yet culminated. Its tension continues to grow and the size of the historic moment presents a burden on the citizens of Geneva: several thousand members of the security service, 3,000 journalists, and assorted observers, await the first [word indistinct] after the first Reagan-Gorbachev meeting in the Villa Fleur d'Eau on the shores of Lake Leman, on the outskirts of Geneva.

The U.S. host received the high-ranking Soviet guest at the entrance to Fleur d'Eau with a smile on his face, as eyewitnesses were able to note immediately on Swiss television, which is constantly present.

At exactly 1000 today, one of the most dramatic meetings in the recent history of two great states and their leaders began. This conversation behind closed doors can, as is expected in the enormous colony of observers and journalists, break the ice of U.S.-Soviet relations. At any rate, this first dialogue, during which the trump cards will be put on the table, according to general conviction, will show whether the summit is a mature opportunity for this change or whether one will have to wait for the change until the new meetings within the announced summit process have taken place.

The [word indistinct] of the international city of Geneva and of its inhabitants about the direct relay of the beginning of the summit, about assorted comment and funny pictures, such as the hopping up and down of freezing reporters milling around the Villa Fleur d'Eau has again confirmed the complete uncertainty that prevails over this first and certainly most critical face to face meeting of the leaders of the two superpowers. This uncertainty has been enhanced by the remarks of television reporters that the meeting, with only interpreters present, went on for much longer than had been planned. The main Swiss television commentator remarked that this could be a favorable sign, that is to say that Gorbachev and Reagan evidenty immediately went into a global dialogue that could be leading to something. The consensus of commentators' opinion in Geneva is that this is a dialogue of equals, because during Reagan's tenure the forces have been balanced; the United States has again regained the confidence shaken during the seventies.

On the other hand, the [words indistinct] does not deny the fact that the other side does not operate from a position of inferiority either. The commentators develop the basic thought in a variety of ways that under Mikhail Gorbachev the USSR (?has embarked on the road of) technological and economic reconstruction and that his principal intention during the Geneva summit is to ascertain the extent of strategic threats and good will by its super partner on which the USSR can count on a long term basis, possibly to the end of this century.

President Reagan also is talking about the attempt to establish a basis in Geneva for a peace dialogue, which will survive his presidency and move into the 21st century.

Most commentators stress that this process does not bring to a conclusion the process of concluding an agreement on a critical point on which Moscow and Washington are in conflict, mainly in the sphere of arms control [words indistinct] of a global and lasting dialogue on all burning questions in their relations. However, despite that (?they are) aware of the fact that real results and the course of the summit meeting will be judged on the basis of the extent to which Gorbachev and Reagan will manage to keep the competition between the most powerful countries in the world, and of their systems, at a safe distance from a nuclear catastrophe.

Let us add a brief news report to the above information: The U.S. and Soviet delegations have agreed not to give out any information to journalists until the end of the summit conference. This was announced by White House Spokesman Larry Speakes, who said that the U.S. side will abide by this agreement.

Afternoon Meeting

LD191852 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1746 GMT 19 Nov 85

[Text] Geneva, November 19 (TANJUG) -- A second, afternoon meeting between U.S. President Ronald Reagan and CPSU Secretary-General Mikhail Gorbachev is underway in the Water Flower villa here. The Soviet leader will give a "private dinner" in honour of the U.S. President and members of his suite this evening.

Nothing has been made known about the content of talks during the first, morning meeting between Reagan and Gorbachev since the two delegations agreed nothing to disclose for the public until the summit end.

After his first meeting with CPSU Secretary-General Gorbachev, U.S. President Reagan told the press that their meeting had passed in a "cordial atmosphere" and added, as his personal impression, that the U.S. and the Soviet Union share the same goals.

Larry Speakes, the White House press spokesman, informed the press that the "President has ordered all people working with him not to say anthing to anybody. Those who know something will not speak, those who speak will know nothing."

Leonid Zamyatin, press spokesman for the Soviet delegation, told the press that the talks had started in a "good atmosphere" and that Gorbachev and Reagan had discussed the state of relations between the Soviet Union and the U.S. as well as some aspects of the two countries' foreign policies.

If there is an agreement, the two delegations will find a form in which to inform the public, he said.

Zamyatin also quoted the CPSU secretary-general as saying in reply to a question by a journalist that the importance of the Geneva dialogue was great and neither of the two could disregard the interest of the other, including their observation of the interests of other peoples.

DAY TWO OF SUMMIT BEGINS; EXTENSION RUMORED

LD201242 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1140 GMT 20 Nov 85

[Text] Geneva, November 20 (TANJUG) -- Talks between General Secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Mikhail Gorbachev and U.S. President Ronald Reagan continued this morning at the Soviet U.N. Mission in Geneva. Yesterday's meeting took place at the U.S. negotiators' residence, the lakeside Fleur d'Eau villa.

The two sides' accord on the blackout on all news concerning the course and content of talks is still in force.

Yesterday's tete-a-tete talk between Reagan and Gorbachev took nearly two hours, much longer than scheduled. It has not been announced whether largely private talks will be held also today, or will the plenary sessions of the two delegations prevail.

Uncertainty also surrounds the end of the Soviet-U.S. summit. There are persistent claims in Geneva that the meeting may end tomorrow [word indistinct], not this evening as originally scheduled.

LCY CENTRAL COMMITTEE HOLDS SESSION 18 NOVEMBER

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[Excerpts] Belgrade, 18 Nov (TANJUG) -- At its 22d session today the LCY Central Committee is discussing the social and class structure of the LCY, the implementation of the cadre policy, and collective work and responsibility. The ideopolitical bases for changes and additions to the LCY Statute are also on the agenda of today's session.

Vojo Srzentic submitted the introductory report on the first agenda item, while Jure Bilic spoke of the changes and additions to the statute. In view of the similar nature of the problems, the LCY Central Committee members decided to discuss both agenda items simultaneously.

Before starting on their agenda the LCY Central Committee members verified the election of Marko Orlandic as a member of the LCY Central Committee and of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee in view of the fact that Orlandic had been reelected president of the Central Committee of the LC of Montenegro.

The LCY Central Committee members then stood in silence for 1 minute in memory of the revolutionary, the people's hero, and president of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Croatia, Pero Car.

Luka Miletic, the first person to take part in the discussion, spoke of the social and class structure of the LC in the Zagreb party organization. Both stagnation and a decline in the number of LC members is present in the Zagreb organization. Workers and other direct protagonists of production and development -- engineers, technicians, and other material production experts -- are leaving the LC. There are fewer and fewer pupils and students in the LC; this poses a threat to the generational renewal of this organization.

Miletic illustrated this by giving examples. For every 10 newly-admitted production workers there are 40 direct producers who have left the LC. Or, for every 11 newly-admitted pupils and students, 10 leave the LC. The number of LC members in Zagreb has been stagnating since 1981, and in 1984 for the first time, there was a fall in the number of this organization's members.

In Miletic's view, these unfavorable developments within the social and class structure of the LC are influenced most by disappointment and dissatisfaction of the members with the effectiveness and efficiency of the LC. This has particularly come to the fore in the case of workers and young and inexperienced communists. This dissatisfaction among the LC members is particularly conspicuous as far as economic and development policy is concerned, with overcoming the difficult economic situation and a drop in the standard of living, said Luka Miletic.

According to the view of Arif Sahim, a worker and direct producer, problems regarding the implementation of workers' majority in the LCY stem from the fact that the socio-economic situation of the people, especially of the working people living exclusively from their work, is complex and their standard of living is rapidly falling. At all congresses, plenary meetings, and other sessions of the LC organs and working bodies, we routinely passed good conclusions and stands committing ourselves to securing a workers' majority in the LC and strengthening the worker-class character and policy of this organization. It seems, however, that we were satisfied with that, and it is therefore normal that the situation goes on being unsatisfactory.

Having warned that different and even contradictory interpretations of democratic centralism had given rise to a number of practical controversies and misunderstandings, Muhic [as received] said that the present formulations in the statute were not precise enough and often they were confusing, incomplete, and even contradictory. This made it possible for some specific partial interests to be read into some statute provisions.

We must rid ourselves of reciprocal mistrust and suspicion, he said. They will be removed simply by correctly interpreting the provisions about the LCY Central Committee as a place of synthesis at which LCY action and ideological unity is established, following extensive democratic discussions which do not rule out differences in one's points of view.

The role of the republican and provincial Leagues of Communists, given the degree of the democratization of interparty relations which we have attained, cannot be side-stepped at all. A possible criticism about their independence turning into sovereignty and into national, that is to say national republican-provincial isolation, easily can be avoided by all LCY component parts, during the proposed electoral procedure. They must be briefed on the candidates from the republics and provinces, and be allowed to give their views about them. This is the synthesis to which we must aspire in accordance with the principles of democratic centralism; it is not directivism or centralism of a conventional type. Apart from the risk every electoral procedure has to run, it is realistic to expect that the LCY Congress will demonstrate it historic maturity and present itself as a center of this synthesis. The proposed additional electoral mechanisms, in case one of the candidature lists is not approved in toto or in some of its parts, will provide the guarantee that this will happen, said Muhic.

Speaking of the election of young people, Hisen Ramadani suggested that half the people elected into all self-management organs, delegate assemblies, forums of socio-political organizations, and others should be under 40 years of age. This ratio does not break continuity; in fact it allows further class, social, sex, national, and any other kind of representation, said Ramadani.

Despite congress messages and party conclusions, for a long time we have not been able to establish a workers' majority among the LC membership, said Ali Sukrija. We must also provide an answer to the question, he said, why workers constitute a majority of those who either have been expelled or who have left the LC, and why our struggle to get more workers into the LC has been blunted. In Sukrija's view, complete answers to these questions cannot be provided outside a broad ideopolitical and class-social context of overall social development. The fact that the working class and the working people have been pushed out of the process of decisionmaking about the revenue and about social production as a whole does not only diminish the realistic range of their power, but also provides a disincentive for many to invest greater effort into their work, into making decisions, and even into political activity. Etatist, technobureaucratic, group-ownership awareness, and conduct in regard to decisionmaking on behalf of the working class and of the working people, and in all areas of social work and production too, represent the fundamental brake on the further democratization of group relations and development of socialist self-management. These processes of contradiction, difficulties, and shortcomings, and the various interests and ideological undercurrents, are inevitably reflected, in Sukrija's view, on the substance of the LC, its class identity, ideo-political unity, and ability to fulfill successfully its ideopolitical role in our society.

In Sukrija's view, the practice should be introduced whereby the central and provincial committees of the Leagues of Communists should discuss these issues at least once a year and should adopt appropriate decisions in order to change the situation. The LCY Central Committee should do the same because it is unacceptable that from congress to congress we should merely note a situation which for years has hardly changed, whereas in some LC organizations it has even been getting worse, said Ali Sukrija.

We are facing the fact that in practice, LC unity and democratic centralism have failed. In one of its centralistic component parts it functions, from a republic or province downwards, whereas the other democratic part, from the LC organizations toward the central committees of the republics and the provincial committees in the provinces, has failed. As far as the LCY Central Committee is concerned, both the one and the other part often fails, said Dusan Dragosavac. Speaking of the unity in the LC, Dragosavac stressed that the concept and the practice that might lead to its transformation into a federation or a loose coalition of republican and provincial organizations are equally at odds with the character and the role of the LCY. Our socialism would more easily endure a multiparty system along a united League of Communists than a coalition of a number of parties within the League of Communists.

LC members and working people quite properly require the LCY Central Committee and republican provincial and other leaderships to fulfill their revolutionary duty and more resolutely to operate on the foundations of democratic centralism.

In the Central Committee, said Dragosavac, we still hesitate to speak frankly about the situation and manifestations in individual republics and provinces. Since an overwhelming part are not critical of the situation within their own nation and environment, the implementation of a unified LCY policy becomes difficult. The question is asked why, despite the fact that the LCY Statute has not gotten a consensus provision, the LCY Central Committee cannot attain the necessary ideopolitical and action unity. If action unity could be attained more successfully in the LCY, in the central and provincial and other LC leaderships and organizations, it would be easier to reach solutions in the delegate system, both on those issues where the Constitution provides for consensus and on those issues on which decisions are made or temporary measures are adopted by a majority vote.

In a confused ideological situation, cadres games have started in certain isolated quarters about whom to propose as the president or the secretary in LC leaderships, including the LCY Central Committee, and the same applies to presidents of other organizations. Some people think that this is the main thing to do. They do not realized that this is the way to cut the Congress, the Central Committee, the delegate assemblies, and others, out of the process of resolving the cadre question. Our work now should concentrate on the preliminary procedure for the selection of delegates and candidates for party leaderships, including the LCY Central Committee. It is essential to make an effort to ensure that the composition of all the leaderships and of the Central Committee, whose term of office is four years, is such that any member could be the president or the secretary, and to make sure that every Communist in all environments and at all levels can have the right to vote and to be elected.

Although account has to be taken of the various parties and of the national composition of the Central Committee, it is essential that a discussion be held in LC organizations about every candidate. Every organization which elects and proposes candidates, no matter whether we are talking about republican or provincial organizations or the LCY organization in the Yugoslav People's Army, should propose at least one candidate from another republic. In this way we would at least partly confirm that we in the LC do not shut ourselves off exclusively behind republic and provincial borders, thus making at least a symbolic contribution to LCY unity, although this is not a decisive or most essential thing to do.

As far as the age structure is concerned, because that is discussed as well, a biological theory is present more than the Marxist one. It is important to take all the structures, including the age structure, into account. We should act in accordance with the old theory that it is a good thing that young people understand that they lack experience and that old people should understand that young people will acquire it faster by working, and that they will mature more quickly if they are incorporated into the system.

Dusan Dragosavac also set out his views as to the way the top party leadership should be organized. He suggested that the Central Committee should elect the president by secret vote from among several candidates. He also suggested that the Central Committee should elect its executive organ, the Executive Committee, which could have 15 members. He also proposed that the Central Committee should have more commissions.

Marinko Bulatovic stressed that the roots of all the problems in our society, including our economic difficulties, predominately stem from our cadre policy -- that is to say that the main culprits are the people we elected, nominated, appointed, to whom we entrusted our future at various levels and various environments, whom we paid well, and whom we applauded sincerely. We made cadre mistakes and they paid us back with economic and political mistakes. We were slaves to keys and skeleton keys which did not unlock the right locks, but by and large killed quality. As a result this is why the number of those who carried responsibility and consequences is rather low, he stressed.

The number of those who once had started marching upward and went downward is small; they are all convinced that the ascending line is endless. The worst thing that could happen to them was to acquire the invented calling of an adviser with the result that although without any specific commitments, they are getting what they used to get in return for a modicum of work.

We are in the process of proposing candidates for the LCY organs and for republican and provincial organs. The elections for the delegate assemblies and other elections will soon be upon us.

I think this is the right time and high time that we do what the working class expects from us, which is that capable and courageous fighters, honest Communists, and people prepared to work should occupy responsible posts everywhere in our society regardless of the republican, provincial state, or the municipal ministate they come from. Only such people, and particularly if they are young, will be able to resolve, together with the working class, our major problems and carry the heavy burden, stressed Bulatovic.

In this context the method of organization of the Communists could be of assistance in devising the solutions required by the present time. It is a good thing, said Nijaz Dizdarevic, that the Presidium is behind the commission proposal that the LCY Central Committee be elected at the LCY Congress, although in some leaderships hesitation and resistance are very strong. This, in my view, is in keeping with the general mood of the LC membership and is also of great importance for the principles of democratic centralism. This Central Committee's experience since its first session has shown, he said, to what extent the present system of LCY Central Committee election, but not that alone, has contributed to the federalization of the LCY and even to the stifling of the statute provisions referring to the LCY Central Committee and its authority.

It is my deep conviction that both practice and experience require that we should abandon the solution of having the Presidium as a political and executive organ and that we should embark on a different organization on the work of the Central Committee. After Tito, we resolved firmly that the whole system, the whole LCY, and its entire LCY Central Committee are the followers to Tito and that the role of the democratic collegiate bodies should be strengthened. By keeping the solution made at that time, we are exposing ourselves to the danger of the Presidium taking over the role of the Central Committee. Instead of the Presidium, an Executive Committee should be formed as the executive organ having 9 to 11 members. The Central Committee should elect the president of the LCY Central Committee. Dizdarevic believes that no one need be elected more than twice. I do not know why the alternative of a third term of office should be accepted, he said in conclusion.

No rapid or quality changes that we so badly need can be expected unless changes are made in the LCY structure itself, said Slobodan Bojanic. Speaking of the social and class structure of the LC of Serbia, Bojanic recalled that compared with 1983, the total number of admissions into the LC of Serbia was down 21 percent in 1984, while departures from the ranks of the LC of Serbia are constantly increasing.

In 1984 over 16,625 members left the LC of Serbia. What is particularly worrying is that among those who are leaving the LC, most are workers. Are the admission and expulsion criteria applied to workers and agricultural workers muct stricter than those applied toward other structures, wondered Bojanic.

The ideopolitical bases for changing and adding to the LCY Statute, establish much more realistically and effectively than before the principles of the organization of the LC in associated labor. They establish more strictly the principles and concrete aspects of responsibility in the LC and more forcefully stress the role of the LCY Central Committee, was the assessment made by Marko Lolic. However, the stands must stress even more forcefully the need for full participation and contribution by LCY members in formulating and implementing its policy. Along this line the principle has to be expressed even more specifically that a member is responsible for his organization, and the organization for its members, and in a wider meaning of the word too.

Some organizations are powerless or unwilling to do anything, even in cases of activity that is contrary to the LCY program. The result is that the committee expels an individual from that environment, while the organization goes on living normally as if nothing has happened. They wash their hands of it.

If the proposed stands are adopted at the session today, with the amendments which the discussion today will probably call for, we shall get an LCY statute which will be a serious step forward, compared with the existing statute and in the development of relations in the LCY, said Milos Minic. However, even the best statute cannot be a great help if practice is out of step with principles, warned Minic. There is no point proclaiming democratic principles unless the LCY moves its membership into curbing undemocratic manifestations in the LCY, its life and its activity, and in our society as well. This is particularly important when electing the people into the organs or to elected senior posts and throughout our cadre policy. This concerns the rights and the commitments of LCY members and of our working people and citizens, by following their conscience and exercising their free will, to elect organs and the people to the senior posts in the LCY and in all other communities and organizations in which they have their confidence. The whole thing boils down to this: Do they genuinely have these rights or only ostensibly, while in fact some formal or informal groups deploy the people into organs and to senior posts as they see fit, while in effect the elections are transformed into pure formality.

By the same token, Minic added, it will not be much help proclaiming democratic centralism and ideological and action LC unity unless the LC moves the entire membership against the widespread practice of not taking to task every individual or LC organ, no matter whether he is a member of the LC or a member of the LCY Central Committee, when in his work he is deviating from these principles and with his work and conduct does not measure up to the tasks implicit in the duties he is discharging.

The principle of responsibility, greatly devalued both in our society and in the LC, is one of the main factors that have brought about the present situation. The relations in the LCY and in our society cannot be made democratic if the principles of responsibility is not consistently fulfilled in practice. Etatist centers of political and economic power in the Yugoslav community cannot be eliminated and the tendencies of etatism and technocratism suppressed, unless a most decisive struggle is set in motion for a strict implementation of the principle of responsibility towards everyone, without exception.

According to Milos Minic, the LC should provide an example of consistent application of the principle of responsibility. A determined turn-around of the LCY toward pointing up the question of responsibility would arrest the process of inactivity, and also of a measure of demoralization, which is obvious in the LCY as well. It would encourage the working people to take the question of responsibility into their own hands without fearing the consequences for themselves personally, should they bring up the question of responsibility with regard to anyone discharging any of the important posts.

Minic also spoke of making the elections into the LC organs and to LCY senior posts democratic. He endorsed the Presidum proposal that as a rule, but not in principle, there should be more than one candidate for every post. However, if that "as a rule" were to be changed into an exception, and then the exception became the rule, that is to say that the rule will be one candidate for one post, the LCY membership will grasp, and of course other working people will do so likewise, that they have been tricked and once again deprived of their statute rights, and that someone has usurped this LCY right. In the wake of the public discussion on the basis of the 13th session of the LCY Central Committee, the consequences of this will be disastrous and will have a long-term effect.

To make the elections for LC organs and functions democratic, Minic suggested that a decision should be taken about the electoral procedure and the elections regularized. Democratization of elections requires specific rules in accordance with which democracy is implemented; the rules which everyone in the LCY must abide by, said Minic.

The strengthening of unity is the main program demand which the working class puts in front of us, Lazar Djodjic said. We are duty-bound to respect it when we speak in favor of a speedier implementation of the long-term program, when we wish to get self-management out of a crisis, when we want to break down barriers for the pooling of labor and resources, or when we critically re-examine the functioning of the political system. Of course, in all this, Djodjic added, it is necessary to be very careful. Because behind the demands for strengthening unity there could sometimes be found centralistic desires to technocracy, much as demands for self-management very often are used to put forward localistic, group property, even nationalistic desires.

In the League of Communists, from its basic organizations to this Central Committee, there is a general agreement with respect to achieving a workers majority as its program objective. However, the results so far achieved show that when it comes to admission to the League of Communists, there are too few workers; but when it comes to leaving, then there are too many workers, Zivko Marceta said. According to him, the present activity of the party is becoming less and less attractive for members of working class whose vanguard is the party. The causes of such trends must be sought. Marceta said, primarily in the scope and influence which the League of Communists has on the overall social trends as a vanguard of working class in the substance, method, and effectiveness of its work, and then also in the current socioeconomic and ideo-political situation.

At this present moment, it would be more appropriate for us to have a smaller LCY Central Committee which would have no more than 90 members. In such conditions we would have to elect an executive and political organ of the Central Committee, Branko Mikulic said. If we were to retain a more numerous committee, as is proposed, that is, 129 members, then the Central Committee Presidium should be the political and executive organ.

Mikulic proposed that an LCY Conference should be established and that it should be an organ and not an LCY form of action. It would also have its permanent members -- one-quarter or one-third of the total number of delegates who would be elected for the conference. The conference should not be a higher organ than the Central Committee, but it should be authorized to adopt conclusions, stands, and make decisions on questions which it discusses.

Mikulic then went on to propose to assess whether it is necessary to organize permanent action conferences in basic organizations of associated labor, in work organizations, or in composite organizations of associated labor. This could result in malpractice, particularly with respect to centralization of income and strengthening of etatism. The best thing would be to establish principles for action organizations and for this to be developed in detail in the statues of the League of Communists of the republics and provinces, Branko Mikulic said.

According to Ivan Oregoric the new LCY Statute should be not only shorter and clearer but should also contain the essential characteristics and needs of the present phase of our revolution and the activity of the LCY.

The proposed ideopolitical bases for changes and amendments to the statute are for the purpose of creating conditions for a greater degree of ideological, organizational, and action unity of the LCY. It should act more effectively, more consistently apply the principles of democratic centralism, eliminate the elements of the federalization in it, and regulate more clearly its internal relations. Of course, all this is on condition that we change the present behavior and practice, as well as particular statutory regulations, Radisa Gacic said.

The unity of the LCY and the independence and responsibility of the republican and provincial League of Communists have often been variously interpreted. Therefore it is necessary that a dialectic link between unity, independence, equality, and responsibility should be more clearly expressed in the LCY statute, Slavko Filipi said.

According to Sergej Kraigher, all changes which would be carried out in the LCY Statute should be of a more lasting character, but they should also present solutions which could be adapted to concrete situations. However, he added, more radical changes should not be established without a more complete analysis of the experience so far. Speaking about the class structure of the LCY, Kraigher stressed that it should be remembered that management structures often dominate in organizations of associated labor. They play a decisive role in sociopolitical communities, their assemblies, and executive bodies. Workers stay on the side when it comes to delegates put forward by management structures because they cannot see in them the real representatives of the working class.

Kraigherdid not agree with those who claim that causes of numerous shortcomings in society and in the League of Communists are not well-known. But the ones who believe that with changing the LCY Statute we would improve the state of affairs are wrong as well. Federalization in the LCY, let us say, results primarily from the fact that such etatistic tendencies come from the federation, but also from the republics and provinces. The LCY Statute in any case is not the origin of such tendencies, Kraigher added.

In the analysis which was prepared for today's session, many questions remained without answers and solutions, Fatima Midsic said. And this is precisely what the worker expects from the League of Communists: solutions and answers.

Organizing basić units of the League of Communists in basic organizations of associated labor should be done according to existing statutory orientations. This means one basic organization of associated labor equals one basić organization of the League of Communists, Erzebet Balasevic said. In basic organizations of associated labor where there is a great number of the League of Communists members, in order to work more effectively, several basic organizations of the League of Communists shiould be founded following certain criteria. This principle would be also applied in work organizations which had no basic organizations of associated labor.

Aside from some exceptions, the arrival to a political function becomes a formal work relation most often with a higher income than the preceding one and then of course no wonder that such people try to remain in a circle which is more favorable.

With respect to duration in office for the ones in certain social functions, Zivan Vasiljevic supported the orientation for a uniform solution in the League of Communists for all the republics and provinces. He also spoke in favor of defining conditions, even if it is in most general terms, under which a term of office in concrete cases could be extended, irrespective of whether it is a matter of a 2 or 4-year duration.

After a discussion in which 24 delegates of the LCY Central Committee took part, stands on the social and class structure of the LCY, implementing the cadre policy, collective work and responsibility were adopted. The LCY Central Committee decided that ideopolitical bases for changes and amendments to the LCY statute should be finished on the bases of suggestions and proposals put forward at today's session and that the LCY Central Committee should form its opinion about them at its next session.